

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF WESTERN INDIA.

THE CAVE TEMPLES OF INDIA.

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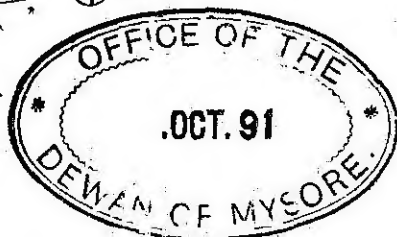
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ERRATA IN PART VI.

Page 317, to footnotes, lines 2 and 3 in first column, prefix the reference figures 7 and 8.

„ 328, note 1^a, for खैरितै° read खैरितै°.

Pages 329 to 336 of this part ought to have been issued as the last sheet of Part VI.

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~~h. 1859~~

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Om ! (*May*) success (*attend*) !

(*Verse 1.*) May the divine Gaṅgā on Śiva's head protect you, (*she who is*) attenuated as it were with jealousy, at seeing half his body appropriated by the daughter of the mountain !

(2.) Glory be to that one friend of the god of love, who gladdens the eyes (*and is*) the head-ornament of the moon-crested (Śiva),—the moon, from whom here on earth there has sprung a race which has freed Fortune from the blemish of fickleness !

(3.) In that (*race*) there was a ruler over the earth whose fame is sung by the Vidyādhara, (*who was*) the pitcher-born (Agastya²⁴) in swallowing that ocean—Karna, (*and*) the lord of creatures in creating anew the kingdom,²⁵—the illustrious Kīrtivarmaṇ.

(4.) From him (*sprang*) the prince Sallakṣhaṇa whose sword took away the fortune of the Mālavas and Chedis; and after him the valiant Jayavarmadeva ruled the kingdom, whose one glory was victory.

(5.) After him Prithvīvarman was king, similar to Prithu; and then Madana ruled over the kingdom, a god of love²⁶ to opponents.

(6.) Then came the illustrious king Paramardīn, who, as a leader, even in his youth, struck down opposing heroes, (*and*) to whom the fortune of universal sovereignty quickly came, like an enamoured damsel choosing him of her own free will.

(7.) Then the prince Trailokyavarman ruled the kingdom, a very creator in providing strong places. Like Viṣṇu he was, in lifting up the earth, immersed in the ocean formed by the streams of Turuṣkas.

(8.) Victorious is his son Vīra, that ruler of the earth of spotless bravery who has delighted the damsels of heaven by sending them, as lovers, the hostile heroes whom he cut down on the field of battle.

(9.) Victorious (*and*) to be worshipped by all men is he whom, when he strikes down the wicked (*and*) disperses crowds of opponents, people gaze at—wondering whether he be Viṣṇu riding on Garuḍa or Śiva roaming about on his bull.—

(10.) In the race of Dadhīchi there was the illustrious [Chā]dala, endowed with marvellous true glory, an object of reverence for the Kṣatriyas; and he had a most excellent son, named Śrīpāla, who was bravery, as it were, incarnate.

(11.) His son, to be revered even by crowned heads, was Maheśvara, whom people declare to be properly so named, when he disports himself, valiant like a bull.

(12 and 13.) He married the prince Govindarāja's daughter, unsurpassed for virtuous conduct, who, for her extraordinary deeds, like Śiva's wife, must always be honoured by faithful wives,—the lady Vesaladevī (?), endowed with both beauty and excellent qualities. Her daughter, now, is Kalyāṇadevī, of great renown.

(14.) When she became the chief queen of the illustrious king Vīra, like unto Śrī (*when she became the wife*) of the enemy²⁷ of Kaiṭabha, this lady by her pleasing, noble and holy deeds became famous for ever.

²⁴ The sage Agastya is fabled to have swallowed the ocean.

²⁵ Or, perhaps, 'in creating new kingdoms.'

²⁶ In the original the passage is quite clear, and admits of no other interpretation than the one given above. The word *madana* itself is one of the synonyms of *manmatha*.

²⁷ i. e., Viṣṇu.

(V. 15.) What need is there to describe her, unsurpassed for pleasing conduct (*and*) well-known the earth over for her pure fame,—her, who by truthful speech has at once surpassed that world-renowned lord of justice (Yudhishtira)?

(16.) To some Vaśishṭha's wife²⁸ is an object of reverence; others indeed adore the splendid daughter of the mountain who is the half of Śiva's body; some again have glorified Gaṅgā, (*and*) others take pains to praise the beloved of Kāma. They all cannot have set eyes on the unblemished Kalyāṇadevī, who for truth and other excellent qualities is famed in song.

(17.) Having perceived that life, fortune, and the charms of youth stay no longer than the water which glitters on a lotus-leaf, that widely praised beautiful women(?) have fallen into the gross darkness of delusion, (*and*) that the creeper of good fame alone is everlasting, Kalyāṇadevī, to make that (*creeper of fame*) grow, the qualities of truth and generosity.

(18.) Then, having ascertained that (*this*) spot is guarded by the arms of strong men (?), she, full of compassion, made this *Nirjara*²⁹ well, filled with nectar-like water, to sustain life.

(19.) She, of great renown, gave for the *Nirjara* (*well*) one drinking cup (?) and she built this pure, bright hall for the supply of water (?).

(20.) She, who has brightened the earth with her fame, has made at Nāndīpura a tank which resembles the ocean, (*and*) a hall with a lofty top (?).—

(21.) The intelligent Ratnapāla, a son of the poet Haripāla and grandson of the poet Vatsarāja, has composed this pure eulogy.

(22.) In the Vikrama year measured by the seas (7), the moon (1), the fires (3), and the moon (1), has the pure-minded, skilful Rāma engraved it.

In the year 1317, during the office of the Rāuta, the illustrious Jētana (?), in the reign of the illustrious Viravarman, on Thursday, the 15th of the bright half of Vaiśākha.

.

II.

ROCK INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BHOJAVARMAN.

* This inscription¹ is on a rock near the "Tarhaoni" or "Tirhawan" gate of the fort of Ajaygadh. It contains sixteen lines of writing which cover a space of about 6' 10½" broad by 2' 3" high. The first fifteen lines extend over the whole breadth of the inscribed surface; the last line measures only 1' 4" in length, and is engraved in very small characters close below the beginning of line 15. With the exception of about ten *aksharas* at the commencement of line 15 which either have gone altogether or are greatly damaged, and the whole of the short line 16 which is illegible in the rubbing, the writing is well preserved. The size of the letters in lines 1-15 is about 1½." The characters are the peculiar kind of Nāgarī which we find also in several Mahobā and Kālāñjar inscriptions of the 12th and 13th centuries, and the special features of which

²⁸ i. e., Arundhati.

²⁹ i. e., 'not growing old, never failing.'

¹ See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XXI, pp. 47, 53, and 88. The inscription has not been previously edited, but a photo-lithograph of it was published by Sir A. Cunningham, *ib.*, plate xv. I edit it from Sir A. Cunningham's own rubbing, kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. Fleet.

may be seen in the photo-lithographs,² published in *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XXI, plates xv and xxi-xxiii. Here I need only state that in the present inscription it is somewhat difficult to distinguish between the signs for *ch* and *v*, those for *chch*, *vv*, and *gh*, and those for *p* and *b*; and that a sign representing both the *jihvāmūlīya* and the *upadhmānīya*, which does not differ at all from the ordinary sign for *sh*, has been employed before the words *karaṇās* and *padmā*^o, in line 2.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the introductory *om namaḥ Kedārāya*, the whole is in verse. The language is fluent, but not always correct. Thus, to mention some of the most striking mistakes, in line 1 we have *shaṭ-trimśatiḥ* or *shaṭtrimśataḥ* for *shaṭtrimśat*; in line 4 *niśipati* for *niśāpati* 'the moon'; in line 13 *vānmin* for *vāgmin*; in line 15 the form *krīyatām*, derived from the root *kṛi* 'to make'; and the verses 19 and 20 do not admit of a proper construction. A term, which I have not met with elsewhere, is *viśiṣha*, in lines 4 and 8, probably denoting the superintendent or commander of a fort. As regards orthography, the consonant *b* is generally denoted by the sign for *v*, when it is preceded and followed by a vowel (e.g., in *vivudha*, line 1, *Savarān*, line 10, etc.), and by its own proper sign, when combined with another consonant (e.g., in *garbbha* and *avilambitam*, in line 3); but we have twice *babhūva*, even after a vowel, in lines 6 and 7. The dental sibilant *ś* nine times used for the palatal (e.g., in *śasi*-, line 1, *śsu* and *saila*-, line 4), and the palatal for the dental in *praśūnair*, line 6, and *vilāśa*-, line 13. Besides it may be noted that, instead of *yy*, we have the conjunct *jy*, in *vigaṇajya*, lines 8 and 10, and, instead of *khy*, *ksh*, in *Jayākshe*, line 8 (but not in line 11), and *prakshāta*, line 14; and that *ujjvala*, as usual, is spelt *ujjala*, in line 9.

The immediate object of the inscription would appear to be, to record (in verses 28-31) the construction of a temple by Subhaṭa, the superintendent of the treasury of the king Bhoja or Bhojavarman. But in reality the inscription furnishes an account of the clan to which Subhaṭa belonged, or of the more prominent members of that clan, the Vāstavya race of Kāyasthas, some of whom held positions of importance under the Chandella kings Gaṇḍa, Kīrtivarman, Paramardin, Trailokyavarman, and Bhojavarman.

The Kāyastha clan of the Vāstavyas derived its origin from Vāstu, who resided at Ṭakkārikā, one of a group of thirty-six³ towns which were 'purified by the fact that men of the writer caste dwelt in them' (vv. 2-4). In this clan was born the Ṭhakkura, Jājūka, who held a position of trust under king Gaṇḍa, and was honoured by him with the grant of the village of Dugauḍa (vv. 5-7). From him was descended Māheśvara, who by Kīrtivarman was appointed *Viśiṣha* of Kālāñjara and endowed with the grant (of the village) of Pipalāhikā (vv. 8-9). The next member of the family mentioned is Gadādhara, counsellor and chamberlain of king Paramardin (v. 10), who with his younger brother Jaunādhara fought at Kālāñjara (v. 11), and who had another brother, Mālādhara, also distinguished as a warrior (v. 12). After them came Ālhū, his son Śobhana, and his son Vīdana (vv. 13-15). Vīdana's son was Vāśe or Vāśeka, who by king Trailokyavarman was appointed *Viśiṣha* of the fort of Jaya or Jayapura (the present Ajaygaḍh), and endowed with the grant of the village of Varbhavari. He

² Compare also *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. VI, p. 665, and plate xxxii.

This expression would lead one to look for some territorial name, such as Chhattispur, but I find only *Chhattisgaḍh*.

defeated one Bhojûka, who had either risen in rebellion against Trailokyavarman or conquered part of his territory, and he generally pacified the kingdom and rendered it secure against foreign enemies. He also built a temple and a tank at Jayapura (vv. 16-20). His younger brother was Ânanda who, as governor of the fort, subdued the wild tribes of Bhillas, Śābaras, and Pulindas (vv. 21-22). Ânanda's son was Ruchira (vv. 23-25), who had three sons, Gopati (v. 26), Mahipāla (v. 27), and Subhāṭa, of whom the last, as stated above, was superintendent of the treasury of king Bhojavarman (vv. 28-30). After verse 31, the inscription has two more verses, the second of which is illegible, and the first of which relates that Mahipāla again had three sons, one of whom was named Kirtipāla.

The Vāstavya family is mentioned also in other Chandella inscriptions.⁴ Thus, the two inscriptions from Mahobā, of which we have photo-lithographs in *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XXI, plates xxii and xxiii, and one of which is dated in Vikrama 1240, record that in the illustrious great Vāstavya family there was one Sūhila, the son of Hallaṇa (?). An inscription from Ajaygaḍh, referred to *ib.*, p. 53, mentions, according to Sir A. Cunningham, the Ṭhakkura, the illustrious Vidana, who no doubt is the Vidana spoken of in the present inscription. And the inscription from Ajaygaḍh, edited in the *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. VI, pp. 882-884, in its concluding lines, contains the name of another member of the Vāstavya family of Kāyasthas, who is described as *pratolikānvita-Jayapuradurgg-ādhipa*, 'governor of the fort of Jayapura with the street (*pratolikā*) belonging to it.'

The five Chandella kings mentioned in this inscription are all well known from other inscriptions. But attention may be drawn to the circumstance that Kīrtivarman (in verse 9) is here described as the crest-jewel of the princes in the Pīṭasāila or Yellow-Mountain districts, a territorial name which, so far as I know, has not been met with elsewhere. The name of Bhojûka, the opponent of Trailokyavarman (whose latest known inscriptional date⁵ at present is Vikrama 1298), occurs perhaps in an inscription at Ajaygaḍh⁶ of the Vikrama year 1325, which mentions one Abhayadeva, apparently described as the son of Bhojûka.⁷

The town of Ṭakkārikā, and the villages of Dugauḍa, Pipalāhikā, and Varbhavarī, which are mentioned in the inscription, I am unable to identify.

The inscription closes rather abruptly, and it neither contains the names of the composer, writer, and engraver, nor is it dated. But, since for the king Bhojavarman we have the date⁸ Vikrama 1345, it may be assigned to about the end of the 13th century A.D.

⁴ A *Vāstavya-vaṃśa* is mentioned also in line 27 of the Malhār inscription of the Chedi year 919 = A.D. 1167-68, *ante*, p. 42; a *Vāstavya-kula* in line 5 of the Seṭ-Maheṭ inscription of the Vikrama year 1276 = A.D. 1219-20, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVI, p. 62; and a *Vāstavya-kāyastha* in an inscription at Garhwa of the Vikrama year 1199, Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. III, plate xxi, 1.

⁵ See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 234.

⁶ See *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XXI, plate xiv, F.

⁷ Similar names are Vājûka, Dandûka, and Khojûka; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 235.

⁸ In the inscription of Nāna, the minister of Bhojavarman, badly edited in the *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. VI, pp. 882-884. Nāna was one of the three sons of Ratnasimha, of whom that inscription records:—

दिग्जनौकर्णकुहरविश्रान्तयश्सानु ते ।

चन्द्रवियनरेन्द्राणां सचिवत्सुपायताः ॥ २४ ॥

ततः स विज्ञानवि(नि)धिर्जनौषी मनोरमो नान इति प्रतीतः ।

श्रीभीजवर्माणमुपेत्य नाथं समन्वितोदयमाततान ॥ २५ ॥ —

which will dispose of "the horse sent to Bhoja Varma." The inscription was composed by the poet Amara (not Amarapati), in Vikrama 1345, expressed in figures and in words (the latter, contrary to the ordinary rule according to which the unit should be mentioned first, being—

चणदेशेचणमतसुतिभूतसमन्विते संवत्सरे).

TEXT.⁹

L. 1.

ओं¹⁰ नमः केदाराय ॥

गङ्गातरङ्गतरलीकृतसर्पराजवे[ष्टा]य चारुशसि(शि)खण्डविभूषणाय ।
कन्दर्पदर्पशमनाय सुरार्चिताय केदाररूपवि[ष्ट]ताय¹¹ नमः शिवाय ॥ १ ॥¹²
षट्त्रिंशतिः¹³ करणकर्मनिवासपूता आसन्पुरः परमसौख्यगुणातिरिक्ताः ।
तन्मध्यगा विवु(बु)धलोकमता वरिष्ठा टकारिका समजनि सृहणीयकल्पा ॥ २ ॥
सर्वो[प]कारकरणै-

2.

कनिधेः स्वकीयवंशस्थे पादसुभगस्य द्विजाश्रयस्य ।

कल्पावसानसमयस्थितये पु[री]¹⁴ यां वास्तुः स्वयं समधिगम्य समाससाद ॥ ३ ॥
तस्यां श्रुतेर्विनदसङ्घनिनादितायां वास्तव्यवंशभविनङ्गरणास्त आसन् ।
आशाः समस्तभुवनानि यदीयकीर्त्या पूर्णानि हंसधवलानि विशेषयन्त्या ॥ ४ ॥
विद्याश्चतुर्दश कलाः सकलाः समीयुः¹⁵पद्माभिरा-

3.

ममिव वल्लभमायताच्चः ।

यं गर्भसंस्थमविलम्बितमद्वितीयं दुःखं वियोगजमसंहृतमुद्वहन्त्यः ॥ ५ ॥
तदंशतः स उदपादि नरेश्वरेण गण्डाद्वयेन¹⁶ युधि दुर्जयतां गतेन ।
जाजूकसंज्ञ इति ठक्कुर[ध]र्मयुक्तः सर्वोधिकारकरणेषु सदा नियुक्तः ॥ ६ ॥
आराध्य¹⁷ तं नृपतिमण्डलमण्डनैकं देवं गदाधरमिवाच्युतवासमाद्यम् ।

4.

कायस्ववंशनलिनीगणतादिनेशो ग्रामं दुर्गौडमपि ताम्रकमासु(श) लेभे ॥ ७ ॥
तत्सन्तती सकलवाङ्मयपारद(दृ)खा¹⁸ भूभूषणं निशिपतेरिव कान्तिभर्ता ।
मोहान्धकारकुहरेषु निपातहर्ता माहेश्वरः समभवत्सुकृताभिसर्ता ॥ ८ ॥
यः पीतसै(शै)लविषयेषु महीपतीनां चूडामणिं समनु[सि]व्य समार्ज्यच्च ।
श्रीकीर्तिवर्धनृपतिं वि-

5.

शिषाभिधानं कालञ्जरस्य पिपलाहिकया समेतम्¹⁹ ॥ ९ ॥

तस्मिन्कुले महति सज्जनेलोकजुष्टे गङ्गाधरः समुदभूत्सुचि[वो]भिरामः ।
नूनं विचार्य परमर्हिनरेश्वरेण युक्तः स [कञ्चुकि]तया²⁰ परया तु धीरः ॥ १० ॥
जौणाधरस्तदनुजः सहकर्मचारी सदा रतः समरकर्मणि मोक्षकारी ।
तौ वीरमार्गमनुसृत्य गिरौ गरिष्ठे

6.

कालञ्जरे युयुधतुर्विशिखा[कु]लेन²¹ ॥ ११ ॥

तथैव मालाधरनामधेयस्तस्य द्वितीयो ऽजनि वीरमुख्यः ।
सुरैः सदा कल्पतरुप्रश(स्र)नैरभ्यर्चितो यः समरेषु रेमे ॥ १२ ॥²¹
क्रमेण तस्मिन्प्रबभूव धीर आलू प्रतोलीरुचिराधिकारः [I^x]

⁹ From the rubbing.

¹⁰ Expressed by a symbol.

¹¹ Of the *akshara* in brackets only the vowel is indistinct.

¹² Metre of verses 1—11, Vasantatilakā.

¹³ Probably altered, in the original, to षट्त्रिंशतः. The plural of the numeral is of course grammatically incorrect.

¹⁴ Of this *akshara* only the sign of *anusvāra* is doubtful.

The spelling of this word is quite clear and distinct in the rubbing.

¹⁶ Originally आरध्य, altered to आराध्य

¹⁷ Originally सकलवाङ्मयः; but the superfluous म appears to have been struck out.

¹⁸ Originally समेतम्, but altered to समेतम्.

¹⁹ Originally कुञ्चिकतया, but clearly altered to कञ्चु कितया.

²⁰ The *akshara* in brackets is somewhat doubtful, and might possibly be read च्च.

²¹ Metre of verses 12—14, Upajāti.

येनावरुहे कलुषे हृषेण सदैव रेमे रभसेन दुर्गे ॥ १३ ॥

तस्यात्मजश्चापि व(ब)भूव रम्यः सु(शु)भान्वितः सो(शो)[भ]न-

L. 7.

नामधेयः ।

चित्तैश्चरित्रैः ककुभां सुखानि यच्चित्रयामास सु(शु)चिर्गु[णौ]धैः ²² ॥ १४ ॥

विद्यानिधानं तनयश्च तस्य विद्याधरैस्तुल्य(ल्य)तनुर्बभूव ।

यस्मिन्पुत्रो वीदननामधेयौ ²³ विन्यस्य राज्यं सुमना[ः] सदैव ॥ १५ ॥ ²⁴

वशं ²⁵ पुराभ्येति जनस्य चि[त्तं] त्रैलोक्यवर्माक्षितिपस्य [चा]त्र ।

इतीव वाशेरचिताभिधानो बभूव पुत्रो ऽस्य गुणैरुदारः ॥ १६ ॥ ²⁶

कार्यक्षमन्तं वि-

8.

गणज्य(य्य) राज्या(जा) दुर्गे जयाक्षे(ख्ये) विशिषाधिकारे ।

नियोज्य तस्मै व्यतरत्सिद्धं ग्रामं सदा व[र्भ]वरीति नाम्ना ॥ १७ ॥

तस्मिन्ननोरममयं सुरसद्म वापीं वास्तव्यवंशतिलकः सुजलां च रम्याम् ।

विज्ञाय देहमचिरं चिरतां सिद्धं प्राचीकरत्तदनुया(पा) ²⁷ धिकलेवरिण ॥ १८ ॥ ²⁸

तत्रायं परिपत्तिपार्थिवचमूकक्षेपु दावानलो

हैराज्यं जन-

9.

यत्त(न्त)मप्रतिहतं कृत्वा कृतान्तातिथिम् ।

भोजकं युधि युद्धदुर्भेदनिधिं वासे(शे)कनामा सुधी-

र्भूयो येन महोशवंशतिलकस्तैलोक्यवर्मा कृतः ॥ [१९ ॥] ²⁹

स्मृतं राज्यमकटं गुणिगणाक्रान्तातिस्वर्वास्वदं

दानेनोज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)लवद्विधाय विधिवत्सीमाः समस्ता अपि ।

तेनालम्बि महीधरे जयपुरे कैलासवासीपमे

वासो वासववास-

10.

दर्पदलनी रम्यप्रतीलीकृते ॥ २० ॥

अस्थानुजः पुण्ययशा उदार आनन्दनामा प्रथितः पृथिव्याम् ।

सदैव लोकं मदयन्तमाराध्यं सत्य(त्य)नामानमुदाहरन्ति ॥ २१ ॥ ³⁰

भियामभूमिं विगणज्य(य्य) चेनं दुर्गाधिकारे नृपतिः प्रचक्रे ।

³¹ आज्ञाकरान्प[लि]निवासिनोयं चकार भिन्नान्सवरान्पुलिन्दान् ³² ॥ २२ ॥

तस्यात्मजोभवद-

11.

[सौ ?] रुचिराभिधानो विद्यासु तासु सकलासु सु(शु)चिः कलासु ।

यो लीलयैव विहरन्समराङ्गेषु तीव्रानरातिनिवहान्कुणितामनैषीत् ॥ २३ ॥ ³³

दुर्गे जयाख्ये प्रवलासुरौच्यैर्विध्वंसनी ³⁴ स्तोत्रपरंपराभिः [।*]

दुर्गां सुवन्नेष सदैव भक्त्वा कृतांजलि[ः] पुण्यतमासु(सु)पास्ते ॥ २४ ॥ ³⁵

गुणैरुदारः सुकृतैकचारः पा-

²² The *akshara* in brackets may be read शी or शौ.

²³ Read °नामधेयः. This correction may have been made already in the original.

²⁴ Metre, *Indravajrā*.

²⁵ Originally वार्श, but altered to वशं.

²⁶ Metre of verses 16 and 17, *Upajāti*.

²⁷ The rubbing looks as if this *akshara* पा were engraved above the या.

²⁸ Metre, *Vasantatilakā*.

²⁹ Metre of verses 19 and 20, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

³⁰ Metre of verses 21 and 22, *Upajāti*.

³¹ Originally अज्ञा°, but altered to आज्ञा°.

³² Read भिन्नाञ्जलि°.

³³ Metre, *Vasantatilakā*.

³⁴ Read प्रवलासुरौच्यैर्विध्वंसनी°. The rubbing looks as if the changes from रौच्य to रौचै, and from स, to सि, had been made already in the original.

³⁵ Metre of verses 24—27, *Upajāti*.

L. 12.

पापहारः सुजनैकसारः ।

[शा]³⁶स्त्रास्त्रविद्यानिपुणः प्रवीणः कलासु रेजे स सदा यशस्वी ॥ २५ ॥

तस्यात्मजो गोपतिनामधेयो विद्यावदातो नृपतिप्रपूज्यः ।

श्रियां गिरां चाप्यविरोधवासो वंद्यः सतां साधुजनैकसेव्यः³⁷ ॥ २६ ॥

तस्यानुजन्मा महिपालनामा सौंदर्यसौ(श्री)र्यप्रवरो रराज ।

यं वीक्ष्य

13. लज्जावस(न)तो मनोभूः सदैव चित्तेषु तिरोव(ब)भूव ॥ २७ ॥

जयति तदनुजन्मा श्रीविलाशै(सै)कसौधः

सुकृतिजनवरिष्ठो वाङ्मि(ग्मि)नामग्रणीश्च ।

नृपतिसमितिदक्षः स्नाघनीयस्वभावः

सुभट इति च नाम्ना कीर्तनीयस्वरूपः ॥ २८ ॥³⁷परोपकारप्रतिव(ब)ह[कां]क्षः³⁸ प्रारब्धकार्याधिगतार्थसिद्धिः ।

श्रीभोजवर्म-

14. क्षितिपस्य सोभूक्तोसा(शा)धिकारादि(धि?)पतिः सदैव ॥ २९ ॥³

सर्वाभारधुरंधरोपि सुभटो विश्वासविद्यास्थितिः

श्रीमद्भोजमहीमहेन्द्रसचिवः प्रक्षा(ख्या)तकीर्त्तिर्गुणैः ।

निर्मर्यादपरोपकारनिरतः सौजन्यमुद्रानिधि-

भार्ष्णागारेपतिश्चिरं विजयते धर्मैकबु(बु)द्धिर्भृशम् ॥ ३० ॥⁴⁰

लोकः शोक-

15. ॐ — ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — [दुःखत्रयो?]मंदिरं

दोला[न्दो]लनचंचलं धनमिदं स्वल्पायि(यु)षी मानुषाः ।

धर्मः केवल एव देहविरहे देहान्त[रं] गच्छति

गन्ता [त्या?]⁴¹गविधेरसंभवतया देवालय[:] क्रीयताम् ॥ ३१ ॥⁴²ततो जाता महाप्राज्ञा महिपालसुतास्त्रयः [।³⁸]कीर्त्तिपालो ह(बु)हक्कीर्त्तिः कुमारी मारसविभः ॥ ३२ ॥⁴³

16.

TRANSLATION.

Om! Adoration to Kedâra!

(Verse 1.) Adoration to Śiva, who manifests himself as Kedâra;⁴⁴ who is encircled by the serpent-king, made to move to and fro by the waves of the Ganges, (and)

³⁶ The *akṣhara* in brackets was originally श, but it looks as if it had been altered to शा.

³⁷ Metre, Mālinī.

³⁸ Of the *akṣhara* in brackets only the sign of the *anusvāra* is indistinct.

³⁹ Metre, Upajāti.

⁴⁰ Metre of verses 30 and 31, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁴¹ I am very doubtful about the *akṣhara* in these brackets. In the rubbing it looks more like जा or ज्ञा or ज्वा, than like त्या.

⁴² Here the inscription would seem to have ended originally. The verse 32, which follows, appears to be less carefully engraved than the preceding. It is followed, in line 16, by another Anuṣṭubh verse, engraved in very small letters (as may be seen from Sir A. Cunningham's lithograph), which most probably gave the names of the two other sons of Mahipāla, but which, with the exception of one or two *akṣharas*, is illegible in the rubbing.

⁴³ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

⁴⁴ *Kedârarûpa-vidhṛita* I take in the sense of *vidhṛita-Kedârarûpa*, and compare compounds like *deha-baddha* which by Indian grammarians would be placed in the *gaṇa agnyâhit-âdi*.

is gracefully decorated with a portion of the moon; who humbled the pride of the god of love (*and*) is revered by the gods!

(7. 2.) There were, thirty-six towns, purified by the fact that men of the writer caste ⁴⁵ dwelt in them (*and*) more (*than other towns*) endowed with great comfort. Among them the most excellent, thought of as the abode of the gods, was Ṭakkârikâ, an object of envy.⁴⁶

(3.) This town Vâstu himself took for his residence, that his race, an unique treasure in bestowing all kind of benefits, blessed with worthy people (*and*) a resort of the twice-born, might stay there to the end of the universe.

(4.) (*And*) in this (*town*) which by crowds (*of students*) was made to resound with the chants of the Vedas, there were born in the Vâstavya race those Kâyasthas whose fame has filled (*and rendered*) white like swans all the worlds, illumining the quarters.

(5 and 6.) From that race sprang a matchless (*personage*) to whom, even while he was in his mother's womb, quickly sped the fourteen sciences ⁴⁷ and all the arts together, as long-eyed damsels hasten to a lover graced with beauty, openly betraying their grief at having (*so long*) been kept from him; (*a personage*) named Jâjûka, who, endowed with the title ⁴⁸ of a Ṭhakkura, was, by king Gaṇḍa, the invincible in battle, appointed to superintend at all times all the affairs (*of the state*).

(7.) And having pleased the king, that unique ornament of the circle of princes, the primeval Gadâdhara, as it were, whose abode is imperishable, (*Jâjûka*)—who was to the Kâyastha race what the sun is to the multitude of lotus-groups—soon also obtained the village of Dugauḍa, as a grant.⁴⁹

(8.) In his lineage was born, an ornament of the earth, Mâheśvara, thoroughly familiar with every branch of letters (*and*) endowed with beauty like the moon; preventing (*others*) from falling into the pit of darkness of delusion (*and himself*) going after good deeds.

(9.) Having served the illustrious prince Kîrtivarman, the crest-jewel of the princes in the Yellow-Mountain districts, he received the title of *Viśiṣha* of Kâlāñjara, accompanied by (*the grant of*) Pipalâhikâ.

(10.) In that great family, beloved by good men, was born Gadâdhara, a favourite counsellor. That wise man was by king Paramardin, after due consideration, entrusted with the high office of chamberlain.

(11.) His younger brother, sharing his work, was Jaunâdhara, always delighting in deeds of war (*and*) striving after final liberation. Following the path of heroes, both fought on the excellent mountain Kâlāñjara with showers ⁵⁰ of arrows (?).

(12.) And he also had another (*younger brother*) named Mâlâdhara, pre-eminent among heroes; who took delight in wars, always honoured by the gods with flowers of the tree of paradise.

(13.) In the course of time was born in that (*family*) the prudent Âlḥû, whose ad-

⁴⁵ One of the meanings of *karana* being *kâyastha-karman*, 'the occupation of a Kâyastha,' I take *karana-karman* to be a Bahuvrîhi-compound, equivalent to the word *Kâyastha* which occurs below.

⁴⁶ The suffix *kalpa* in *sprihaṇīyakalpâ* appears to have been added merely to fill up the verse.

⁴⁷ i.e., the four Vedas, the six Vedāṅgas, the Mīmāṃsâ, Nyâya, Dharmaśâstra, and the Purâṇas.

⁴⁸ Literally, 'endowed with the nature of a Ṭhakkura.'

⁴⁹ *Tâmraka*, properly the copper-plate on which a deed is engraved, here clearly denotes the object granted by such a deed.

⁵⁰ Seeing no other way of explaining the above passage, I take the word *âkula* to be (wrongly) used as a substantive.

ministration of the street (*pratolī*) was pleasing; who, keeping down wickedness, full of energy, always dwelt happily in the fort.

(14.) His charming son again was Śobhana, endowed with good fortune, who, resplendent with many excellent qualities, adorned the quarters with his wondrous exploits.

(15.) And his son, a store of knowledge (*and*) in appearance like the Vidyādhārās, was Vidana. Having entrusted the realm to him, the king indeed enjoyed lasting comfort.

(16.) He had a son, distinguished for excellent qualities, who, one may say, was called Vāśe, because the minds of the people as well as that of king Trailokyavarman were about to prove submissive to him.

(17.) Esteeming him competent for the work, the king appointed him to the office of *Viśiṣha* over the fort, named Jaya; and gave him the well-known village of Varbhavari, to be his for ever.

(18.) There that ornament of the Vāstavya race, being aware that life is brief and desirous of securing eternal life, made his transient body ⁵¹ build a beautiful temple and a charming tank, full of good water.

(19.) (*And*) there the wise Vāśeka, being to the armies of opposing chiefs what a forest-fire is to the brush-wood, sent the irresistible Bhojūka, who, seized with the frenzy of war, was rending the kingdom in two, in battle to the abode of death, and thus ⁵² made Trailokyavarman again the ornament of princely families.

(20.) Having rendered the kingdom free from thorns and prosperous, so that every place was inhabited by crowds of virtuous people, and having made it resplendent with his generosity and properly secured all frontiers,⁵³ he took his abode, humbling the pride of Indra's home, on the mountain Jayapura, which, turned into a pleasant street (*pratolī*), was like Kailāsa as a place of residence.

(21.) His younger brother, of pure fame (*and*) famous the earth over, was the eminent Ānanda, whom men declare to have been rightly so named ⁵⁴ because he always gladdened people, (*even*) from afar.

(22.) Esteeming him a man who knew no fear, the king made him governor of the fort; (*and as such*) he reduced to submission the wild tribes of Bhillas, Śābaras, and Pulindas.

(23.) His son was that Ruchira, resplendent with all the sciences and arts, who, when he roamed about on the battle-fields, with ease crippled the fierce crowds of opponents.

(24.) In the fort of Jaya he reverently worshipped with folded hands the holy Durgā, glorifying in strains of praise the fierce destructress of powerful demons.

(25.) Distinguished for excellent qualities, only engaged in good deeds, destroying wickedness (*and*) setting store only on good men, versed in sciences and in the knowledge of arms, (*and*) proficient in arts, he always shone, endowed with good fame.

⁵¹ Literally, 'the body which has not the attribute of (eternity).'

⁵² In the original the construction is altogether ungrammatical, but there can be no doubt about the meaning of the verse.

⁵³ Here, again, the first half of the verse does not admit of a proper construction, and I can do no more than give the general sense which I think to have been intended by the writer.

⁵⁴ *Ānanda* means 'joy.'

(V. 26.) His son was Gopati, purified by knowledge (*and*) deserving adoration from princes; a man in whom fortune and eloquence harmoniously dwelt together, praiseworthy (*and*) an unique object of veneration for good men.

(27.) His younger brother was Mahipāla, who shone, eminent for both beauty and bravery. When the god of love saw how he had taken possession of all hearts, he vanished, bowed down with shame.

(28.) Glorious is his younger brother, the in-every-way-famous Subhata, who is the one mansion of the play of fortune, the most excellent of the virtuous, the leader of the eloquent, fit for the assemblies of princes, praiseworthy for his character.

(29.) Eagerly striving to benefit others (*and*) accomplishing his objects by what he engaged in, he became permanently chief superintendent of the treasury of the illustrious king Bhojavarman.

(30.) Long and greatly may Subhata, the lord of the treasury, whose only thought is of what is right, prosper! He who, though at the head of all weighty affairs,⁵⁵ is both trustworthy and full of knowledge, who, as the counsellor of the illustrious ruler Bhoja, is widely famed for his excellent qualities, who delights in bestowing on others benefits without end (*and*) is a very store of benevolence!

(31.) The world is a home of the three kinds of pain, sorrow unstable like the motion of a swing is our wealth, and short the life of man. His religious merit only goes with him, who, departing his life, enters another body; for that cannot leave him. (*Thus reflecting, Subhata*) ordered a temple to be built (*here*).⁵⁶

(32.) Then there were born three most intelligent sons of Mahipāla: Kīrtipāla, of great fame, a youth who resembled the god of love;

XXXIX.—PATNA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF THE YADAVA SINGHANA AND HIS FEUDATORIES SOĪDEVA AND HEMADIDEVA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription was discovered by the late Dr. Bhāu Dājī on a stone-tablet in the ruined temple of the goddess Bhavānī at Pāṭṇā, a deserted village about ten miles south-west of Chalisgaon in Khāndeś,¹ and edited by him in the *Journal Roy. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. I, pages 414-418. It consists of 26 lines which cover a space of about 2' 6" broad by 1' 6" high. The writing is on the whole well preserved, but at the top a small portion of the surface of the stone has peeled off, causing the nearly complete loss of about a dozen *aksharas* in the middle of the first line; and a few *aksharas* are illegible in the concluding lines. The average size of the letters is $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī of about the 13th century. Up to the beginning of line 22 the inscription is in Sanskrit; the language of the remainder is a kind of old Marāṭhī, corresponding,

⁵⁵ The original has the word *ābhāra*, which I have not met with elsewhere.

⁵⁶ Here, again, a proper construction of the actual words of the verse appears impossible.

¹ See the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XII, p. 463; Burgess and Fleet, *Pāli, Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, No. 284. Not to mention minor mistakes, Dr. Bhāu Dājī read the name of one of the chiefs, mentioned in the inscription, persistently Sonhadava, while it is really everywhere clearly Soīdeva. I re-edit the inscription from two good impressions supplied by the Editor.

according to Dr. Bhāu Dājī, to the Khāndeśī. Of the Sanskrit portion, lines 1-20, excepting the introductory *om namo Gaṇādhipalaye* and the words *atha bhrity-ānvaya-varṇanam* in line 7, are in verse; the rest of the inscription is in prose.

As regards the grammar and orthography of the Sanskrit portion, there are few points that need here be noted. In *Lāṭoraska*, line 4, the *saṁśānta* suffix *ka* has been wrongly added, for the word is a Tatpurusha compound; in *karāṭi-kamḥīravo*, line 13, the final vowel of the first member of the compound has been lengthened simply for metrical purposes; and the word *vidhānita* is used in an unusual sense, in line 9. The conjunct *ddh* has been wrongly employed instead of the simple *dh* in *skamddha*, line 3, *śimddhor*, line 11, and *saṁniddhau*, line 21; and *dh* has been doubled in a wrong way in *nibadhdha*, line 19. Besides, we find the conjunct *śchh* instead of *chch* in *-hṛiśchhṛi-*, line 5, and *yaśchhishyaih*, line 16, and the vowel *ṛi* instead of *ri* in *kṛiyā*, line 17.

The main object of the metrical portion of the inscription (lines 1-20) is, to record (in verses 23-24) that the chief astrologer of the Yādava king Simghana, Chaṅgadeva, a grandson of the well-known astronomer Bhāskarāchārya, founded a college for the study of the *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi* and other works of his grandfather and relatives,—a college which was endowed with land and other sources of income by the brothers Soḍeva and Hemādideva (verse 25), two members of the Nikumbha family, who, as feudatories of the Yādavas, ruled over 'the country of the sixteen-hundred villages.' And by way of introduction, after invoking the divine blessing (in verse 1, which appropriately brings in the seven planets) and doing honour to Bhāskarāchārya (verses 2-4), the author furnishes a short account of the paramount lords of the country, the Yādavas of Devagiri (verses 5-8), of their feudatories of the Nikumbha family (verses 9-16), and of Chaṅgadeva's own ancestors (verses 17-22).

Regarding the Yādavas, we are told that there was a prince Bhillama who fought with the Gūjaras, Lāṭas, and Karnaṭas. He was succeeded by Jaitrapāla who defeated the Andhras (verse 6). Jaitrapāla's son was Simghana or Simha, who defeated the kings of Mathurā and Banāras, and a dependent of whom even defeated the valorous Hammīra, or Muhammadan invader (verse 7). All the three princes are well known to us from other sources,² and it is only necessary to state here that Simghana ascended the throne in Śaka 1131 (A.D. 1209-10).

The names of the earlier members of the Nikumbha family, which was considered to belong to the solar race, are given in the other inscription brought from Pāṭṇā by Dr. Burgess and published by Professor Bühler in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VIII, page 39, as—

- (1.) Kṛishṇarāja I.;
- (2.) His son, Govana I.;
- (3.) Govindarāja, son of Govana I.;
- (4.) Govana II., son of Govinda; and
- (5.) Kṛishṇarāja II., son of Govana II.

The first prince mentioned in this inscription is Kṛishṇarāja (verse 10), who is Kṛishṇarāja II. of Professor Bühler's account. His son was Indrarāja, and his son

² See *Journal Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. IV, p. 26; *Journal Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. XII, p. 6; *Archæological Survey of Western India*, vol. III, p. 85; Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 72; Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 82.

again Govana (verses 11-12), who, to judge from Professor Bühler's inscription, began to rule shortly after Śaka 1075 (A.D. 1153-4). Govana III. was succeeded by his son, Soḍdeva (verses 13-14), by whom, as will appear below, a donation was made to Chaṅgadeva's college in Śaka 1128 (wrongly for Śaka 1129=A.D. 1207); and Soḍdeva after his death was succeeded by his younger brother Hemādideva, who is described as a feudatory or general of Siṃghaṇadeva and ruler of 'the country of the sixteen-hundred villages' (verses 15-16).

Chaṅgadeva, the founder of the college, belonged to the Śāṇḍilya *vaṃśa*, of which the inscription (in verses 17-24) enumerates the following members:—

- (1.) The poet (*kavichakravartin*) Trivikrama.
- (2.) His son Bhāskarabhaṭṭa, who from king Bhoja received the title of *Vi-dyāpati*.
- (3.) His son Govinda, or Govindasarvajña.
- (4.) His son Prabhākara.
- (5.) His son Manoratha.
- (6.) His son, the poet (*kaviśvara*) Maheśvarāchārya.
- (7.) His son Bhāskara (the astronomer).
- (8.) His son Lakshmidhara, who by king Jaitrapāla was appointed chief Paṇḍit.
- (9.) His son Chaṅgadeva, chief astrologer of king Siṃghaṇa.

As regards these men, there can hardly be a doubt that the *kavichakravartin* Trivikrama, with whom the list opens, is the *mahākavi* Trivikramabhaṭṭa, the author of the *Damayantī-kathā*, who, in the introduction of his work, describes himself as the son of Nemāditya (or Devāditya) and grandson of Śrīdhara, of the Śāṇḍilya *vaṃśa*. Since his son Bhāskarabhaṭṭa lived under Bhojarāja, whom, with Dr. Bhāu Dājī, I take to be Bhoja of Dhārā whom we know³ to have ruled in A.D. 1021, Trivikrama must have flourished about the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century A. D. Bhāskara, the astronomer, was born in Śaka 1036=A.D. 1104-5; and the epoch-year of his *Karaṇa-kutūhala* is Śaka 1105=A. D. 1183-84. His father, Maheśvara, who is described as *jyotirvit-tilaka*, lived at Vijjalapura, and composed a work called *Vṛitta-śataka*.⁴ Jaitrapāla, by whom Bhāskara's son, Lakshmidhara, was made chief Paṇḍit, ruled from Śaka 1113 to Śaka 1131=A.D. 1191-1209.

The metrical part of this inscription is followed by a prose passage which records a grant made by Soḍdeva in favour of Chaṅgadeva's college in Śaka 1128 (or rather 1129), on a date which will be specified below. This grant must of course have been made some time before the inscription itself was composed; for we know from the preceding that the inscription was put up during the reign of the king Siṃghaṇa, who began to rule in Śaka 1131, and at a time when the feudatory Soḍdeva was dead, and had been succeeded by his younger brother Hemādideva. Our inscription itself therefore is not dated, but it may have been composed in the first quarter of the 13th century, some time after A.D. 1209-10.

Soḍdeva's grant, spoken of in the preceding paragraph, is dated in the Śaka year

³ See Indian Antiquary, vol. VI, p. 53. The date of the inscription is Sunday, 24th December, A.D. 1021.

⁴ See *Journal Roy. As. Soc.*, N. S., vol. I, pp. 410, 412; or *Siddhānta-Siromani*, xiii, 58; Professor Aufrecht's *Catalogue*, p. 327; Dr. Peterson's *Second Report*, p. 131.

1128, in the year Prabhava, on the full-moon day of the month Śrāvāṇa, at the time of an eclipse of the moon. The date itself shows that there must be some mistake in it; for Prabhava corresponds to Śaka 1129 expired, not to Śaka 1128 expired. And, besides, if the grant had been really made in Śaka 1128 expired, the date would fall in A.D. 1206, and in that year there was no lunar eclipse at all. The year of the grant therefore was clearly Śaka 1129 expired, which was the Jovian year Prabhava; and calculating for that year, I find that Śrāvāṇa-śudi 15 corresponds to the 9th August, A. D. 1207, when there *was* a lunar eclipse, at 12 hours 26 minutes Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 11 hours 29 minutes after mean sunrise. The eclipse, a partial one, lasted 2 hours 40 minutes and would, therefore, have been just visible in Khândeś.

TEXT.⁵

- L. 1. श्री० न[मो] गणाधिपतये ॥
सिद्धं दि[वा]करमुधाकरभूमिपु[त्र]श्वेतांशुपुत्रगुरुशुक्रश[नि] ७ — ७ ।
— — ७ — ७ ७ ७ — स्य [भवो?]ङ्ग[वान्ध?]संरक्षणानि गगनेचरचारवी वः ॥ १—[1.]
उद्भ-
2. ट[बु]द्धिर्भाट्टे सांख्येसंख्यः स्वत[त्र]धीस्तत्रे ।
वेदेनव[द्य]विद्योनल्पः शिल्पादिषु कलासु ॥ १—[2.]
स्वच्छंदो यच्छंदसि शास्त्रे वैशेषिके विशेषज्ञः ॥(1)
यः श्रीप्रभाकरगुरुः प्राभाकरद-
3. शर्णे कविः काव्ये ॥¹⁰—[3.]
[ब]हुगुणगणितप्रभृतिस्कंभ(ध)वितये त्रिनेत्रसमः ।
विबुधाभिवंदितपदी जयति श्रीभास्कराचार्यः ॥ ❀ ॥ ¹¹—[4.]
श्रीमद्यदुवंशाय स्वस्थस्तु समस्तवस्तुसहि-
4. ताय ॥(1)
विश्वं यत्र तातुं जातो विष्णुः स्वयं तस्मिन् ॥ ¹²—[5.]
गर्ज्जङ्गर्जरकुंजरीकटघटासंघट्टकंठीरवी-
लाटीरस्ककपाटपाटनपटुः¹³ कर्णाटहृत्वंटकः ।
श्रीमान्निभल्लमभूपतिः सम-
5. भवद्भूपालचूडामणि-¹⁴
स्तत्रात्ताम्रपुरांधिकान्तसुखहृत्की(च्री)जैत्रपालोभवत् ॥¹⁵—[6.]
लक्ष्मीकांतलवः प्रतारि[त^x]भवः श्रीजैत्रपालोद्भवः
संग्रामांगण[सं]चितातिविभवः
6. शास्ता भुवः सिंघणः ।
पृथ्वीशो मथराधिपो रणमुखे काशीपतिः पाति[तो]

* From impressions supplied by the Editor.

* Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ Originally सिद्धि or सिद्धिं, but clearly altered to सिद्ध in the original.

^s Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

⁹ Metre, Ârvâ.

¹⁰ Metre, Giti.

¹¹ Metre, Upagîti.

12 Metre, Âryâ.

¹³ In लाटोरेक the suffix क has been improperly added.

¹⁴ This word was originally followed by the sign of *visarga*.

¹⁵ Metre, Śārdūlavikīṭita; and of the next verse.

- येनासावपि यस्य भृत्यवटुना हं[मी]रवीरो जितः ॥ —[7.]
 अवततार पुरा पुरुषोत्तमो यदुकुले ज-
 L. 7. गतोहितहेतवे ॥(1)
 जयति सीयमिमां सकलामिलामवति मा पतिसिंहसहीपतिः ॥¹⁶—[8.]
 अथ भृत्यान्वयवर्णनं ॥
 श्रीमद्भास्करवंशाय भव्यं भूयात् भूपतिः ॥(1)
 निकुंभो
 8. यत्र संभूतो रा[मो] यस्यान्वयेभवत् ॥ ¹⁷—[9.]
 तत्रासीद्वृषपतिर्जितचित्तिपतिर्ध्यातैकलक्ष्मीपति-
 देवब्राह्मणवंदने त[त]मतिः श्रीकृष्णराजाद्वयः ॥(1)
 शौ[र्यो]दार्यविवेकवि-
 9. क्रमगुणैस्तुल्यो न येनापरः
 प्राप्तं पांडवपुंगवार्जितपदं तद्धर्मराजति यत् ॥ ¹⁸—[10.]
 आसांगप्रभवस्ततस्ततमतिः प्राप्तप्रतापोदति-
 वीरो वैरिवधूविध्नितशिरा यः श्रीन्द्रा-
 10. जाह्नवः ॥(1)
 तस्यासीत्तनयः सतां सविनयः सामंतसीमंतिनी-
 वैधव्यव्रतसहस्रगुरुगुणः सत्पुण्यपण्यापणः ॥ —[11.]
 चतुरसुरगारुढो रेवन्त इव गोवनः ॥(1)
 सौंदर्यदर्पकंद-
 11. प्यो यं दृष्टानंगतां गतः ॥ ¹⁹—[12.]
 श्रीगोवनासं²⁰[स्तु १] [रत्न]सिंघो(धो)रुद्रतमूर्त्तिस्ततपुण्यकीर्त्तिः ॥(1)
 जितारिचक्रः क्षितिपालशक्रः श्रीसोददेवः स्तुतवासुदेवः ॥ ²¹—[13.]
 शरणागतवज्रपंजरः
 12. परनारीषु सदा सहीदरः ॥(1)
 व्रतसत्यपथे युधिष्ठिरः सततं वैरिवधूभयज्वरः ॥ ²²—[14.]
 स षोडश[श]तग्रामदेशं दुर्गपुरान्वितं ॥(1)
 सोददेवे दिवं याते शास्ति तस्यानुसंभवः ॥ ²³—[15.]
 त्यागी
 13. स्युस्तुतीपमोज्जुनसमः शौर्ये निकुंभान्वये
 विख्यातः क्षितिपालभालतिलकः श्रीगोवनस्यात्मजः ॥(1)
 श्रीमत्सिंघणदेववैरिकरटीकंठीरवी²⁴ यत्करो
 नद्यान्नंदसुनं-

¹⁶ Metre, Drutavilambita.¹⁷ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).¹⁸ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; and of the next verse.¹⁹ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).²⁰ I am somewhat doubtful about the sign of *anusvāra*²¹ Metre, Upajāti.²² Metre, Vaitālyā.²³ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).²⁴ By the rules of grammar we should expect करटिकंठी-
 रवी; but the final vowel of the first member of the compound
 has been lengthened for the sake of the metre.

- L. 14. दने [तत]मतिहेमाडिदेवस्त्रिरं ॥ ✱ ॥ ²⁵—[16.]
 शांडिल्यवंशे कविचक्रवर्त्ती त्रिविक्रमोभूतनयोः जातः ॥(1)
 यो भोजराजेन कृताभिधानो विद्यापतिर्भास्करमटना-
15. मा ॥ ²⁶—[17.]
 तस्मान्नोविंदसर्वज्ञो जातो गोविंदसंनिभः ॥(1)
 प्रभाकरः सुतस्तस्मात्प्रभाकर इवापरः ॥ ²⁷—[18.]
 तस्मान्ननोरथो जातः सतां पूर्णमनोरथः ॥(1)
 श्रीमन्महेश्वराचार्य-
16. स्ततोजनि कवीश्वरः ॥ —[19.]
 तत्सूनुः कविद्वंद्वदितपदः सहेदविद्यालता-
 कंदः कंसरिपुप्रसादितपदः सर्वज्ञविद्यासदः ।
 यच्छि(च्छि)थैः सह कोपि नो विषदितुं
17. दत्तो विवादी कवि-
 च्छीमान्भास्करकीविदः समभवत्सत्कीर्त्तिपुष्पान्वितः ॥ ²⁸—[20.]
 लक्ष्मीधराख्योखिलस्त्रिमुख्यो वेदार्थवित्तार्किकचक्रवर्त्ती ॥(1)
 क्रतुक(क्रि)याकांडविचार-
18. सारविशारदी भास्करनंदनोभूत् ॥ ²⁹—[21.]
 सर्वशास्त्रार्थदत्तोयमिति मत्वा पुरादतः ॥(1)
 जैत्रपालेन यो नीतः कृतश्च विबुधाग्रणीः ॥ ³⁰—[22.]
 तस्मात्सुतः सिंघणचक्रवर्त्ति-
19. दैवज्ञवर्योजनि चंगदेवः ॥(1)
 श्रीभास्कराचार्यनिबद्ध(श्च)शास्त्रविस्तारहेतोः कुरुते मठं यः ॥ ³¹—[23.]
 भास्कररचितग्रंथाः सिद्धांतशिरोमणिप्रमुखाः ॥(1)
 तद्वंशकृतांश्चान्ये व्या-
20. ख्येया मन्मठे नियमात् ॥ ³²—[24.]
 श्रीसोऽदेवेन मठाय दत्तं हेमाडिना किञ्चि(चि)दिहापरैश्च ।
 भूम्यादि सर्वं प्रतिपालनीयं भविष्यभूपैर्बहुपुण्यवृद्धैः ॥ ✱ ॥ ✱ ॥ ³³—[25.]
21. स्वस्ति श्रीशके ११२८ प्रभवसंवत्सरे आवणमासे पौर्णमास्यां चंद्रग्रहणसमये श्रीसोऽदेवेन
 सर्वजनसंनिजौ(धौ) हस्तोदकपूर्वकं निजगुरुरचितमठायायस्थानं
22. दत्तं ॥ तद्यथा ॥³⁴ इयां पाटणीं जें केणें उघटे तेहाचा असि आउंजो राउला हींता ग्राहका-
 पासीं तो मठा दीन्हला । ब्राह्मणां जें विक[ते] यापासीं ब्रह्मोत्तर तें ब्राह्मणीं दीन्हलें ॥ ग्राह-
23. कापासीं दामाचा वीसोवा आसूपाठी नग[रें] दीन्हला ॥ तलदा इया बैला सिद्ध[विं] ॥
 बाहीरिला आसूपाठी गिधवें ग्राहकापासीं ॥ पांच पोफली ग्राहकापासीं ॥ पहि-

²⁵ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.²⁶ Metre, Upajāti.²⁷ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh); and of the next verse.²⁸ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.²⁹ Metre, Upajāti.³⁰ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).³¹ Metre, Indravajrā.³² Metre, Upajāti.³³ Metre, Upajāti.³⁴ The following passage has been carefully copied from the impressions, and all *akṣaras*, the reading of which appeared to be doubtful, have been enclosed in brackets. As I do not understand the original, I may have made mistakes in dividing the words of the text.

- L. 24. ले आवाणे आदाणाची, लोटि मठा दीन्हली ॥ जेती घाणे वांढति तेतीयां प्रति पली पली
तेला ॥ एथ [जे] मविजे तें मढीचेन मापें मवावें मापाउ मढा अर्द्ध ॥ अर्द्ध
25. मापहारी । [रु]पाचें सूक* । तथा भूमिः ॥ चतुराघाटविशुद्ध [ओडु?]ग्राम ॥ अ—बाले—
कामतामर्थे च — वं[टा] ॥ एकल — [टा] ॥ पंडितां [चा ?]कामतु ॥ [ची]ते ग्रा-
26. मीचा [ऊ ?]रा ॥ धामो[जी]ची[अ]सोडि[आ] ॥

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Adoration to the ruler³⁶ of the Ganas !

(Verse 1.) Accomplished³⁶ may, charming like the planets, the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn, ever preserve you from the darkness arising from this mundane existence !

(2-4.) Triumphant is the illustrious Bhāskarāchārya whose feet³⁷ are revered by the wise,³⁸—(he who was) eminently learned in Bhaṭṭa's³⁹ doctrine, unique in the Sāṃkhya, an independent thinker in the Tantra, possessed of unblemished knowledge of the Veda, (and) great in mechanics and other arts ; who laid down the law in metrics, was deeply versed in the Vaiśeṣhika system, might have instructed the illustrious Prabhākara in his own doctrine, was in poetics (himself) a poet, (and) like unto the three-eyed (god Śiva) in the three branches (of the Jyotiṣa), the multifarious Gaṇita and the rest.

(5.) May blessings rest on the illustrious race of Yadu with everything pertaining to it, (a race) in which Viṣṇu himself was born, to protect the trembling universe !

(6.) (In this race) was born the illustrious prince Bhillama, a lion to the furious combined arrays of the roaring Gūrjara elephants, skilful in cleaving the broad breasts of the Lāṭas, (and) a thorn in the hearts of the Kaṛṇāṭas. (And) here there was the crest-jewel of princes, the illustrious Jaitrapāla, who put an end to the pleasures of the beloved ones of the distressed ladies of Andhra.

(7.) From the illustrious Jaitrapāla sprang, (in truth) a part of the beloved of Lakṣmī, Siṃghaṇa, who escaped (the ills of) this mundane existence (?) ; a ruler of the earth who acquired great might on the battle-fields, who in the van of the fight struck down the prince ruling over Mathurā (and) the lord of Kāśī, (and) by whose young dependent even that valorous Hammīra was defeated.

(8.) In former days Purushottama became incarnate for the good of the world in Yadu's family. He it is who here is conquering the whole earth (and) who protects me,—the ruler of the earth, the lord Siṃha.

Now for the description of the family of the dependents :—

(9.) May fortune attend the illustrious solar race in which the prince Nikumbha born, whose descendant was Rāma !

(10.) In this (race) was the illustrious prince, named Kṛishṇarāja, who defeated

³⁶ I.e. either Śiva or Gaṇeśa.

³⁷ The verse being incomplete, it is impossible to say whether the word *siddham* with which it opens should be construed with what follows or be taken separately. But it is clear that *siddham* is used at the beginning to make the inscription commence with a word of auspicious import.

³⁸ Or, possibly, 'words.'

³⁹ Or, 'the gods.'

³⁹ I.e. Kumārilabhaṭṭa's.

the rulers of the earth, meditated solely on the lord of Lakshmî, (*and*) bent his thoughts on revering gods and Brâhman. Since in the qualities of bravery, generosity, discrimination and prowess none else was his equal, he obtained that title which had been gained by the foremost of the Pândavas,—(*the title of*) Dharmarâja.⁴⁰

(*V. 11 and 12.*) From him sprang a son, the illustrious Indrarâja, of far-reaching intelligence (*and*) endowed with eminent prowess; a hero, whose head was fanned⁴¹ by the wives of his enemies. And he had a son, gracious to the good, expert in teaching the wives of (*hostile*) feudatories the vow of widowhood, endowed with sterling qualities (*and*) a store-house of religious merit,—Govana, skilful as a rider of horses like Revanta, at whose sight the god of love, proud as he was of his beauty, left the body.⁴²

(13.) From the illustrious Govana, an ocean, as it were, containing countless jewels, sprang, a very Indra among the rulers of the earth, the illustrious Soideva, who spread the fame of his religious merit, conquered the hosts of enemies, (*and*) adored Vâsudeva;

(14.) A cage of adamant to (*shelter*) those who sought his protection, always a brother to others' wives, in keeping the vow of truth a very Yudhishthira, (*and*) ever a fever of terror to the enemies' wives.

(15 *and* 16.) Since Soideva has gone to heaven, his younger brother rules here 'the country of the sixteen-hundred villages' with its forts and towns. May he, Hemâḍideva, the son of the illustrious Govana, whose thoughts are fixed on Nanda's son,⁴³ long live happily,—he who in liberality resembles the son⁴⁴ of the Sun, (*and*) who in bravery is like Arjuna; that famous frontal ornament of the princes in Nikumbha's family, whose hand is a lion to the elephants of the enemies of the illustrious Simghanaḍeva!⁴⁵—

(17.) In the Śaṇḍilya race was the king of poets Trivikrama. To him was born a son, named Bhâskarabhaṭṭa, on whom king Bhoja conferred the title of Vidyâpati.

(18.) From him was born Govinda, the omniscient, like unto Govinda; (*and*) he had a son, a second Sun, as it were, Prabhâkara.

(19.) From him was born Manoratha, who fulfilled the desires of the good; (*and*) from him, the illustrious Maheśvarâchârya, the chief of poets.

(20.) His son was the illustrious Bhâskara, the learned, endowed with good fame and religious merit, the root (*as it were*) of the creeper—true knowledge of the Veda, (*and*) an omniscient seat of learning; whose feet were revered by crowds of poets, while his words were rendered perspicuous by the enemy⁴⁶ of Kamsa, (*and*) with whose disciples no disputant anywhere was able to compete.

(21.) Bhâskara's son was Lakshmidhara, the chief of all sages, who knew the meaning of the Veda, (*and*) who was the king of logicians (*and*) conversant with the essence of discussions on the subject of sacrificial rites.

(22.) Judging him to be well acquainted with the contents of all the Śâstras, Jaitrapâla took him away from this town and made him chief of the learned.

⁴⁰ *I.e.* 'king of justice,' an epithet of Yudhishthira.

⁴¹ This is not the ordinary meaning of *vidhânîta*, but I see no other way of translating the word.

⁴² The original has a play on the word *Anaṅga*, 'the bodiless one,' which is one of the names of the god of love.

⁴³ *I.e.* Vishnu.

⁴⁴ *I.e.* Karna.

⁴⁵ Or, 'whose hand is to the enemies of the illustrious Simghanaḍeva what the lion is to elephants'

⁴⁶ *I.e.* Vishnu-Krishna.

(Fv. 23 and 24.) To him was born a son, Chaṅgadeva, (*who became*) chief astrologer of king Siṃghaṇa; who, to spread the doctrines promulgated by the illustrious Bhāskarāchārya, has founded⁴⁷ a college, (*enjoining*) that in (*this*) his college the *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi* and other works composed by Bhāskara, as well as other works by members of his family, shall be necessarily expounded.

(25.) The land and whatever else has been given here to the college by the illustrious Soḍeva, by Hemādi and by others, should be protected by future rulers for the great increase of (*their*) religious merit!

May it be well! In Śāka 1128, in the year Prabhava, on the full-moon day in the month Śrāvaṇa, at the time of an eclipse of the moon, the illustrious Soḍeva, in the presence of all the people, granted to the college founded by his preceptor, (*confirming the gift*) by (*pouring out*) water from his hand, sources of income, as follows:—⁴⁸

XL.—BEGUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE GANGA KING EREYAPPARASA.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.O.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

This inscription was originally brought to notice by Colonel Henry Dixon, H. M.'s 22nd Regiment, Madras Native Infantry, in his photographic collection, published in 1865, of inscriptions on stone and copper from various places in the Maisūr territory. A print from his negative has been published in my *Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, No. 247. And Mr. Rice has given a reading of the text, and a translation, in his *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 209f., with a lithograph of the entire stone (*id.* Frontispiece). His reading, however, contains many inaccuracies; and his translation is but little in accordance with the real meaning of the original. I edit the inscription partly from the photograph, and partly from a very good inked estampage, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Hultsch. The photograph is for the most part very clear and legible; but it fails to give the proper reading in line 1, and at the commencement of line 2. The estampage has made the text perfectly clear and intelligible here; and has also cleared up one or two minor points that were rather doubtful in the photograph.

Bêgûr is a village about six miles south by east from Bangalore (properly Beṅgaḷûr), the chief town of the Bangalore District in Maisūr. It is shewn in the map, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 60, as 'Baigoor,' in Lat. 12° 53', Long. 77° 41'. It is mentioned in lines 5 and 6 of this record by the older name of Bempûr or Bempûru. The inscription is on a stone-tablet, measuring about 6' 6" broad by 6' 8" high, which was found at this village, and is now in the Museum at Bangalore.

The chief part of the writing is in six lines, covering a space of about 6' 6" broad by 1' 5" high, which run right across the upper part of the stone. And each of these six lines is separated from the next by a line cut in the stone from end to end; this is a peculiarity which I have not as yet met with in any other inscription. There are also six short lines running on in continuation down the proper right side; the same number on

⁴⁷ The original has the present tense 'he founds.'

⁴⁸ The following passage, which is not Sanskrit, I do not understand. Its general sense appears to be, that Soḍeva allowed the college to levy certain taxes from tradesmen and manufacturers, and also assigned to it the income from one or more villages, the name or names of which may be contained in the concluding lines of the inscription.

the proper left side; and the name of a village (line 13) near the centre below line 6. Except in some places along the top of line 1, the inscription is very well preserved; and it is legible throughout without the slightest doubt. — The rest of the stone is occupied by sculptures. The principal division of them represents a battle-scene. The troops on the proper right side are led by a man on horseback, sword in hand, whose rank is indicated by his head-dress and by some umbrellas, one of which is apparently a triple one. Behind him, there are two followers on horseback. In front of him, there is a man on foot, blowing a horn; and beyond the latter there is another horseman. The troops on the proper left side are led by a man on an elephant, wielding a spear, whose rank again is indicated by his head-dress. He is attended by an archer in the howdah, and by a separate follower on horseback. Behind the elephant there seem to be two supernatural beings; one of them being possibly Bhairavā, and the other Kālī, as proposed by Mr. Rice. The centre and the foreground shew the fight between the two parties. Above this scene there is represented the king, seated on a low stool, with his feet resting either on a man kneeling on all fours or on a footstool carved to represent that device, and evidently waiting for news from the field of battle.¹ He is attended by two female *chaurī*-bearers. There is another woman in front of him; and beyond her, a soldier, holding across his right knee either a quiver, or perhaps a large tube for carrying despatches. Behind the king and his *chaurī*-bearers there stands another woman, who seems to be trying to entice into a cage a bird which is perched on the king's uplifted left hand. And behind her again, there is another woman, standing under a flag-staff. — The characters are the so-called Old-Kanarese characters, belonging approximately to the ninth century A.D. The lingual *ḍ*, as distinct from the dental *ḍ*, is formed very clearly in some words, e.g. in *māḍi* and *gaṅgavāḍi*, line 3; in other cases, however, the distinction is not made. The mark attached to the up-stroke of the *l* in *kūḍal*, line 15, which does not appear in the other cases in which this letter is used, seems to be a form of the Kanarese *virāma*, and to give the final *l*; the full form of the word is *kūḍala* or *kūḍalu*. The size of the letters varies from about $1\frac{1}{4}$ " to $2\frac{1}{4}$ ". The engraving is bold, deep and good. — The language is Old-Kanarese, with the usual mixture of Sanskrit words in lines 1 to 3. The whole record is in prose. And it presents no particular difficulties, except in the quaintness of the construction. The whole passage from *bīra-mahēndranol* to *kalnāḍ=ittan* is in reality one unbroken sentence, the component parts of which are connected by verbs in the subjunctive mood. Thus, "when the army attacked" is literally "if the army rises to;" "when there was no room left for the battle-horn" is literally "if the place for the battle-horn perishes;" and "he was pierced and died" is literally "if, having been pierced, he dies." In order to present a readable translation, I have had to follow a more direct construction. — In respect of orthography we may notice (1) the use of *ri* for *ṛi* in °*ālamkrity*°, line 1-2, though the subscript *ri* itself occurs a little further on, in *śvayāmvrīta*; (2) the use of *dhdh* for *ddh* in *badhdham*, line 6; (3) the use of *b* for *v* in *bēra*, line 3; (4) the use of *ś* for *s* in *śvayāmvrīta*, line 2; and (5) the use of the Dravidian *l* in all the Sanskrit words, except, of course, as an initial in *lakshmi*, line 2, and except in

¹ Mr. Rice interpreted this part of the sculptures rather differently. But the stone is distinctly a charter (*śāsana*), not a monumental stone (*viragal*); and consequently this part of it does not represent celestial nymphs waiting for the slain heroes. Also, the central seated figure is plainly a man; not the queen of the nymphs.

maṅgala, line 6; in line 19 we have *maṅgala*, with the Drāviḍian *l*; in line 6, as in many other cases, the word is part of a village-name, and I am not quite sure whether, as such, it is really the Sanskrit word, or whether it is of Drāviḍian origin.

The inscription refers itself to the time of a Gaṅga king named Eṛeyapparasa or Eṛeyappa, who was reigning as paramount sovereign over the Gaṅgavāḍi Ninety-six-thousand district. He was at war with a certain Vīra-Mahēndra. One of his armies, called the army of Nāgattara, headed by its chieftain, came in collision with the army of Ayyapadēva, who was plainly one of the commanders of Vīra-Mahēndra. In the fight that ensued, Ayyapadēva was killed, (and his troops routed). And in recognition of this, Eṛeyapparasa conferred upon his slayer, Iruga, a fillet or badge of honour called the *Nāgattara-vatṭa*, and granted to him the twelve villages known as the Bempūr Twelve, which constituted the Kalnāḍ district.

Of the places mentioned in this inscription, the Gaṅgavāḍi Ninety-six-thousand is well known from other records. It constituted specially the dominions of the Gaṅgas of Western India, and it embraced chiefly the present territory of Maisūr. Bempūr or Bempūru is plainly the original name of the modern Bēgūr; though, why the *mp* should have changed into *g*, I cannot at present explain. Iggalūru still exists under the same name; it is the 'Igloor' of the map, in the Ānekal Tālukā of the Bangalore District, about eight miles south-east of Bēgūr. One or other of the two villages of the names of which Nallūru is a component, may perhaps be identified with the 'Nelloor-putnam' of the map, in the Dēvanhalli or Dēvaṇḍahalli Tālukā, twenty-four miles in a north-easterly direction from Bēgūr; it is described as a ruined city of some antiquity (Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. II, pp. 56, 74); and about nine miles south-east of it, the map shews a 'Chicka Nelloor,' which may perhaps be identified with the other of the two villages. And Pūvina-Pullamṅgala is possibly represented by the 'Woolmangle' of the map, in the Mālūr Tālukā of the Kōlār district, about twenty miles to the east by north from Bēgūr. For the other places, I cannot find any representatives in the map. But a reminiscence of the name of the Kalnāḍ district, is perhaps preserved in the name of the modern Ānekal Tālukā.

The inscription is not dated. On palæographical grounds, it may be referred to about the ninth century A.D.; but this, of course, is only an approximation, liable to correction at any time when we may be in a position to identify with certainty the persons who are mentioned. As regards Eṛeyapparasa or Eṛeyappa, the only person whose name at all resembles his, is the Eregaṅga of one of the spurious Western Gaṅga grants (*Ind. Ant.* vol. XIV, p. 229 ff). *Eṛeyappa* is, of course, simply *ere*, with *appa*, 'a father,' as an honorific suffix; and *arasa* means 'a king.' But there are no particular reasons for proposing to identify Eṛeyappa with Eregaṅga. Vīra-Mahēndra has been identified by Mr. Rice (*Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. xlv., lvii., lxiii.) with a Pallava king Vīra-Nolamba, of whom there is an inscription at Gōribidnūr in Maisūr, which speaks of him as the 'protector of Ayyapadēva's daughter.' Vīra-Mahēndra may possibly be a Pallava king. But the name is not known as yet from any other record. And it is impossible to identify him, with any certainty, with any particular king of the Pallava dynasty, and especially with any particular Vīra-Nolamba.² Also, to understand the

² Vīra-Nolamba means 'the brave Nolamba;' whereas Vīra-Mahēndra most probably means, not 'the brave Mahēndra,' but 'a very Mahēndra (Indra) among brave men.'

reference to Ayyapadêva's daughter in the Gôribidnûr inscription, we require the full text of that record. And the sculptures on the Bêgûr stone do not bear out Mr. Rice's assumptions. He suggested that the woman standing under the flag-staff is Ayyapadêva's daughter, bound to it as a captive; and that, being taken prisoner in the fight in which Ayyapadêva was killed, she became the prize of the victorious Pallava. But, as I have already said (see note 1, above), the stone is distinctly a charter, not a monumental slab; so that the sculptures in the upper row do not refer to Ayyapadêva at all. And there are no indications of a rope on the staff of the standard; while, that which is on the woman's right wrist appears distinctly to be a set of bangles, as on both wrists of the other women, and not the coils of a rope. The mention of the Nâgattara and his army, suggests the idea of a reference to some Nâga tribe. I do not find, however, any indications of Nâgas among the figures represented in the sculptures.

In consequence of Mr. Rice's rendering of this inscription, it appeared to contain some other historical details, which are now found to be quite illusory. Thus, his translation speaks of "the illustrious Ereyapparasa, brilliant as lightning, descending among the stars in the clear firmament of the world-renowned Gaṅga race, protector of the mighty kings of Vaḷala and Mēkhala, the chosen lord and possessor of the fortune of the auspicious Taila's dominion." From this, Mr. Rice (*Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. xliv., xlv.) inferred that Ereyapparasa was an usurper of the Gaṅga sovereignty; and he placed him in the period A.D. 777 to 857, between Râja-Malladêva and Gaṇḍadêva. But, on the contrary, Ereyapparasa is most distinctly described as belonging himself to the Gaṅga family. The "mighty kings of Vaḷala and Mēkhala" owe their existence to nothing but a pure mistake, and need no further comment. The supposed Taila, however, is a matter of more importance, especially in connection with the name of Ayyapadêva, which really does occur in this record. During the period to which this inscription belongs, there was a long break in the supremacy of the Western Chalukya kings. Their records, however, pretending to give an uninterrupted succession, mention a certain Taila I., and his great-grandson Ayyaṇa I., who have to be placed in this period. And, on seemingly good grounds, Mr. Rice found a reference to both of these persons in the present record; and an apparent corroboration of his general results, in the supposed fact that Prôlirâja, the father of the Kâkatya king Rudradêva, took away a kingdom from a certain Tailapa, — assumed to be Taila I., — and gave it to a "king Erha," whom Mr. Rice took to be the present king Ereyapparasa. Prôlirâja, however, belongs to a much later time, *viz.* to the period just before A.D. 1162; and the Tailapa who is mentioned in connection with him, is the Western Châlukya king Taila or Tailapa III. (A.D. 1150 to about 1162). Moreover, the kingdom that was disposed of by him was taken from a certain Gôvindarâja, and was given to a king whose name was in reality Udaya, not "Erha" (see *Ind. Ant.* vol. XI, p. 17). These items of contemporaneous history thus disappear altogether. And, as a matter of fact, the name of Taila does not occur in the present record at all. It was deduced from words which really are °*dlamkrity-aîlâdhipatya*. In the photograph, the reading *tail-âdhipatya* might be justified, as the words preceding it are there not at all clear; and especially because there really is a mention of an Ayyapadêva further on. But the estampage has placed the true reading of the passage beyond any possibility of doubt. That the Ayyapadêva

of this record may be the Western Chalukya Ayyaṇa I., still remains possible; but it cannot be taken as at all a certainty.

TEXT.³

- 1 Ōm⁴ Svasti Samasta-bhūvaṇa-vinū(nu)ta⁵-Gaṅgakuḷa-gagana-nirmmaḷa-târâpati
jaladhi-jala-vipuḷa-valaya-mêkhal[â]-kalâp-âlam-
2 kri(kri)ty-aiḷâdhipatya-lakshmî-śva(sva)yamvrita-pati(tī) tâdvâdy⁶-aganita-guṇa-
gana-vibhūshana-vibhūshita-vibhūti śrīmad-Eṇeyappa-arasaṁ
3 pagevar-ellaman=ni[h*]kshatram-mâdi Gaṅgavâdi-tombhatt[â*]ṛu-sâsiraṇuman=
êka-chhatra⁷-chchâyeyol=âḷuttam-iḷdu [1*] Bî(vi)ra-Ma-
4 hêdranoḷ=kâdal=endu Ayyapadêvaṅge sâmanṭa-sahitaṁ Nâgattaranam⁸ danḍuv=
êḷdode tumbe pâdiyol=kâdi kâḷegam=imb=a-
5 ḷidode âneyol=ânt=iridu sattod=adam kâḷd=Eṇeyapam⁹ mechchi Irugaṅge Nâgat-
tara-vattam-gatti Bempû[r*]-ppanneradu-
6 mam śâsana-badhdha(ddha)mî Kalnâd=ittan=Av=âvuv=endode || Bempûrû
Tovagûrû Pûvina-Pullammangala Kûtanidu-Nallûru
7 Nallûru-Koma- ~ 13 Sâramvu || 14 Elkuppe Paravûru
8 raṅguntā ||¹⁰ I- 15 Kâḍal | initumam
9 ggalûru¹¹ || Du- ~ 16 pola-mêre-sahita-
10 gmonelmalli 17 m=ittan=Eṇeyapam
11 Gaḷamjavâ- 18 śavucharan-Nâgara-
12 gilû || 19 ŋge [11*] Maṅgala-
mahâ-śrī [11*]

TRANSLATION.

Ōm ! Hail ! While the glorious Eṇeyapparasa, — whose dignity was adorned with the decoration of a countless number of meritorious qualities, commencing with such (*epithets*) as ‘he who is a spotless moon in the sky which is the family of the Gaṅgas, praised throughout the whole world,’ (*and*) ‘he who is the lord, chosen by herself, of the goddess of sovereignty over the (*whole*) earth, who has for an ornament round (*her*) waist a zone which is the great circle of the waters of the oceans,’ — having deprived all (*his*) enemies of power, was ruling the Gaṅgavâdi Ninety-six-thousand under the shadow of a single umbrella : ¹²—

(Line 3) — Saying “ (*We have*) to fight against Vira-Mahêndra,” the army of the Nâgattara, together with the chieftain (or chieftains), attacked ¹³ Ayyapadêva. And

³ From the inked estampage and the photograph combined.

⁴ Represented by a plain symbol.

⁵ The syllable *nû* is quite spoilt in the photograph, where it appears to be *du*. We have a similar instance of the lengthening of the *u* of *nuta*, in *pranṭṭeyum*, *Ind. Ant.* vol. XIX, p. 273, line 23 ; see also *id.* line 11 and note 11.

⁶ Read *tâvad-âdy*.

⁷ Read *chchhattra*.

⁸ The *anusvâra* here is quite distinct ; but we must strike it out, and read the genitive *nâgattarana*.

⁹ Properly there should be the double *pp* in the fourth syllable of this name. It occurs again, however, with the single *p*, in line 17 ; and I have therefore left it without correction.

¹⁰ The punctuation in this part of the record is rather capricious.

¹¹ The *û* of the syllable *lû* has failed to appear in the photograph at all. But it is quite distinct in the estampage.

¹² *i.e.* ‘ was reigning as paramount sovereign.’

¹³ *lit.* ‘ on its rising to, *i.e.* against.’

when it was overwhelming (*him*),¹⁴ having fought on foot,¹⁵ when there was no room left for (*his*) battle-horn, he mounted an elephant, and there was pierced and died.

(*L. 5*) — Having heard that, Ereyapa¹⁶ was pleased; and, having bound on Iruga the fillet called *Nāgattara-vaṭṭa*,¹⁷ he gave him the Kalnād district, secured by (*this*) charter, (*consisting of*) the Bempûr Twelve (*villages*).¹⁸

(*L. 6*) — They are as follows:—Bempûru and Tovagûru, Pāvina-Pullammanāgala, Kātānidu-Nallûru, Nallûru-Komaraṅguntā, Iggaḷûru, Dugmonelmalli and Gaḷaṇ-javāgilu, Sāramvu, Elkuppe, Paravûru, (*and*) Kūḍal.

(*L. 15*)—This much, with (*a specification of*) the boundaries of the fields, gave Ereyapa to (*his*) follower, the Nāgara.¹⁹ (*May there be*) felicity and great good fortune!

XLI.—A STONE INSCRIPTION FROM RANOD (NAROD).

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH. D., C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

In my account of the Bilhari inscription of the rulers of Chedi, *ante*, pages 253 and 267, I had occasion to mention an inscription at Ranod, published in the *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XVI, pages 1080-88, which, I said, might, when properly edited, serve to elucidate certain passages of the Bilhari inscription, and which, I hoped, would also otherwise prove of historical value. I now have to state that, in the midst of the last hot season, Dr. Führer proceeded to Ranod, and, under considerable difficulties, took two impressions of the inscription thus referred to, which have rendered the preparation of a trustworthy text of it an easy task. Unfortunately, the importance of the inscription has not turned out to be at all proportionate to the trouble which Dr. Führer has taken about it; but my thanks to him are none the less sincere.

Ranod, or, as it is more commonly called in the neighbourhood, Narod (Narvad), is described as an old, decayed town of some size, in the state of Gwālīor, about half way between Jhānsī and Guna, and 45 miles due south of Narwar, *Indian Atlas*, quarter-sheet No. 51, S.E., Long. 77° 56' E., Lat. 25° 5' N. The most remarkable building of the place is reported to be an old Hindu palace, of the main part of which a photozincograph is given in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Surv. of India*, vol. II, Plate lxxxv. In front of it is an open cloister, with suites of rooms at each end, which form three sides of a court-yard; and outside the court-yard is a deep square tank with steps leading down to the water's edge, while close by there is a second tank. Judging from the contents of the inscription, I have no doubt that the building thus described by Sir

¹⁴ *lit.* 'on its swelling, or becoming very numerous.'

¹⁵ *lit.* 'on the road.'

¹⁶ See note 9, above.

¹⁷ Compare the *māme-perjerepu-paṭṭā*, which, with the title of Tribhuvanāchāri, Vikramāditya II. presented to the architect of his temple at Paṭṭadakal; see *Ind. Ant.* vol. X, p. 164.

¹⁸ The absence of any copulative suffix with the word *kalnād*, prevents our translating "the Bempûr Twelve and the Kalnād district;" and shews that the Kalnād district consisted of the Bempûr Twelve.

¹⁹ This is the only expression in the whole record, the meaning of which has remained at all doubtful. *Savuchara*, or more properly *savuchara*, must be a corruption of the Sanskrit *sahachara*, 'a companion, a follower.' And *nāgarāṅge* is I should think, a mistake for *nāgattaraṅge*, 'to the Nāgattara.'

A. Cunningham¹ was really a Maṭha or residence of ascetics, and that one of the existing tanks is the very tank the construction of which is recorded in this inscription.

The inscription is engraved on an erect tablet in the left end wall of the lower verandah of the main building. It consists of 64 lines of writing, which cover a space of 6' 11" high by 2' 10½" broad. The writing is nearly throughout in a state of perfect preservation, so that almost everything may be read with absolute certainty. The average size of the letters is between ⅜" and ⅞". The characters are Nāgarī of the 10th or 11th century; they were written on the stone by Rudra, and engraved by Jejjāka (line 64). The language is Sanskrit; and, excepting the introductory *om namaḥ Śivāya* and the words *Rudrena likhitā* at the end, the inscription is in verse. It was composed by Devadatta, and delineatēd or copied out (*varṇitā*) by his son Haradatta (verses 68 and 69). As regards grammar and orthography, there are few things which need be drawn attention to. Except in the word *divisadām*, in line 32, for which in classical Sanskrit we should have expected *divishadām*, the sibilants are everywhere employed in their proper places. The letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*. Instead of *anuvāra*, we have the guttural nasal in *vr̥ṇhīlāni*, line 1, and the dental in *śreyānsi*, line 3, and *-sānsi*, line 9; and instead of *ri*, the vowel *ṛi* in *udṛikṭa*, line 22. Before *r* the consonant *t* is nine times doubled, e.g., in *ttripura*-, line 5, *-māttram*, line 22, *yattra*, lines 31 and 57; and the word *ujjvala* is, as usually, spelt *ujjala*, in lines 50 and 56. A wrong *samdhī* we have in *phalam=vipula*-, line 6, and in *Kim-vāmṛita*°, line 57; and wrong grammatical forms are *āpya* for *āptvā*, in line 11, and *samudīyamānaḥ* for *samudyan*, or *samudayan*, in line 7. Besides, I may draw attention to the unusual noun *parishvashkaṇī*, in line 4, and to the verb *ud-akhoti*, in line 64, derived from *ut-khut*, 'to cut or engrave,' which has not been met with elsewhere.

Considering that the language is generally plain and easy to understand, and that the inscription offers very little that can be of value to the historian, it will be sufficient to give the following short abstract of the contents:—

After the introductory "om, adoration to Śiva," and five verses in honour of Gaṇeśa (Vināyaka), Sarasvatī, and Śiva (Śambhu, Dhātṛjaṭi, Tripura-vijayin), the inscription records (in verse 6) that Śiva (Purāri) once pleased Brahman by offering him a sacrifice, the result of which was the origin of the family or line of sages which will be treated of in the following (v. 7). In it, there was a sage who is described as Kadambaguhādhivāsin, 'the inhabitant of Kadambaguhā'; from him sprang the sage Śaṅkhamatḥikādhīpati, 'the superintendent of Śaṅkhamatḥikā'; next came Terambipāla, 'the protector of Terambi'; then Āmardakatīrthanātha, 'the lord of Āmardakatīrtha'; and after him Purandara (vv. 8-10). When the king, the illustrious Avanti or Avantivarman, who was desirous of being initiated in the doctrines of the Śaiva faith, heard of the great holiness of this sage, he resolved to bring him to his own country. He accordingly went to Upendrapura, induced the sage to accede to his request, was initiated by him in the Śaiva faith, and duly rewarded him (vv. 11-13). Purandara then founded a Maṭha, or residence of ascetics, at Mattamayūra, the prince's town; and he also established another Maṭha, at Raṇipadra, the place where the inscription is (vv. 14 and 15). Next came Kavachāśiva; his disciple was Sadāśiva; and he was succeeded by Hṛidayeśa (vv. 16-21). Hṛidayeśa's disciple was Vyomaśiva

¹ See his *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. II, pages 303—305. It will be seen below that the inscription mentions no king Someśa or Someśvara, and no town Māyāpura.

(Vyomaśambhu, or Vyomeśa), whose holiness and learning, in which he surpassed all manner of devotees and learned men (the Śākya or Buddhists, who are compared to elephants, the jackal-like Jainas, and others), are eulogised in verses 22-42. He restored to Raṇipadra its former splendour, repaired and enlarged the Maṭha, erected temples and set up statues of Śiva, and he in particular built a magnificent tank, to the description of which no less than twenty verses of the inscription are devoted (vv. 45-64). Verse 65 expresses the wish that the tank may last for ever; and v. 66 forbids the planting of trees near it. And, finally, v. 67 forbids the ascetics to sleep on beds and to allow women to pass the night within the Maṭha.—The inscription is not dated, but it may on palæographical grounds be assigned to the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century A.D.

Of the individuals mentioned in the above, only the prince Avanti or Avantivarman would be likely to interest the historian; but we know nothing about him from other sources, and I can only suggest that he may be related to the Chaulukya princes Avanivarman, Sadhanva, and Simhavarman, the ancestors of the Chedi queen Nohalā, who are mentioned in verses 34 and 35 of the Bilhari inscription, and that he cannot have lived later than the second half of the 9th century. Of the places, Raṇipadra I take to be Ranod itself; Mattamayūra, the town of Avantivarman, and Upendrapura (or Vishṇupura?), the original dwelling-place of the sage Purandara, I am unable to identify. As regards Kadambaguḥā and the other localities from which the earlier sages receive their appellations, I would suggest that Terambi may be identified with Terahi, which is five miles to the south-east of Ranod, and Kadambaguḥā with Kadwaia or Kadwāha, a place which is about six miles south of Terahi, and where there are even now four standing temples and the ruins of nine others.²

Of the sages themselves, Purandara is evidently the personage called Mattamayūranātha, 'the lord of Mattamayūra', in verse 49 of the Bilhari inscription. And the account given of him and of his having initiated Avantivarman in the Śaiva faith, in the present inscription, shows that we must read the second half of that verse, one or two *aksharas* of which were indistinct in the impressions, and the exact meaning of which was not apparent at the time, thus:—

*niḥśeṣa-kalmasha-maśīm=apahritya yena
saṅkrāmitam=para-mahō nṛipater=Avanteḥ ||*;

and must translate:—'who, when he had removed every stain of impurity from the prince Avanti, communicated (to him) supreme splendour (by initiating him in the Śaiva faith).'

Of the other sages, the Bilhari inscription too mentions Sadāśiva and Hṛidayaśiva (Hṛidayaśa); but in the place of Kavachaśiva that inscription has Dharmaśambhu, and between Sadāśiva and Hṛidayaśiva it interposes two other sages, one described as Mādhumateya, and the other called Chūdāśiva.

I owe to the kindness of Mr. Fleet a rough rubbing, received from Sir A. Cunningham, of a third inscription which treats of the same line of Śaiva ascetics that is eulogized in the Ranod and Bilhari inscriptions. This third inscription is at Chandreh on the Son river in Rewa, and has been previously mentioned by Mr. Beglar in *Archæol.*

² See *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XXI, pages 176 and 177.

Surv. of India, vol. XIII, page 8. It is on two slabs of stone, each measuring about 3' 2" broad by 1' 4" high, and consists of 27 lines. According to Mr. Beglar it contains the date *Samvat 324 Phālguna-sudi 6*, the year of which Mr. Beglar proposes to alter to 1324. But the inscription is really dated *Samvat 724 Phālguna-sudi 5*, and, from the style of the writing and the locality in which the inscription was put up, this date must be referred to the Chedi era, so that the year corresponds to A.D. 972-3. Like the Ranod inscription, this one also appears to be of slight importance,³ and I here refer to it chiefly because in line 5 it mentions, apparently in connection with Mattamayūra, the sage Purandara of the present inscription. For since Purandara, in the Chandrehe inscription, is followed by about five more generations of sages, the date of the inscription proves beyond doubt, what I have intimated above, that that sage, and with him the prince Avantivarman, cannot possibly be placed later than the end of the 9th century A.D.

TEXT.*

- L. 1. श्री नमः शिवाय ॥
 प्राद्वषेयनवाभोदगर्जितौर्जित्यजिन्ति वः ।
 वैनायकानि निघ्नन्तु निर्विघ्नं वृद्धितान्यघम्⁵ ॥⁶—[1].
 प्रसन्नौजस्विमधुर-
2. व्यक्ताव्यक्तस्वरूपभाक् ।
 देवता वाक्सरिद्धेर्दुर्मुदे स्ताहः सरस्वती ॥ —[2].
 संपूर्णार्णवमशेषकलमघमुपः सम्पन्नमप्यादरा-
 दूरं पादतलाव-
3. घटननमत्कैलासनस्थत्स्थिति ।
 सानन्दं युगपत्पुरासुरसभासंरभदत्तव्यथं
 शम्भोर्जास्थपरिग्रहस्य दिशतु श्रेयान्मि⁷ वः स्थानकम् ॥⁸ —[3].
 चरणभरावनता-
4. वनिविनमत्कमठोरुकर्णराभोगा ।
 नाव्यस्य धूर्जटेर्धुरि वरुणपरिष्वक्कणी जयति ॥⁹—[4].
 उत्त्वितो दण्डपादो ग्रहगणसुडुभिः साहसुत्तन्ना भूयः
 प्रायाद्यावत्स्वसोमाम-
5. परपदभरभ्रष्टपृष्ठा क्व भूमिः ।
 इत्यंदीस्थेपि रङ्गे गगनतलचलच्चारिकाचारवृत्ते-

* My rubbing is so indistinct that I am unable to give an accurate account of the contents of the inscription. But so far as I can see, it records the construction of a tank and some buildings by a sage Prasāntasiṃha, and their restoration by the sage's disciple Prabodhasiṃha. The spiritual ancestors of Prasāntasiṃha appear to be Purandara, Śikhāsiṃha (who seems to be called Madhumati-pati, an appellation which may explain the name Mādhumateya of the Bilhari inscription), and Prabhāsiṃha. The inscription, which is in verse, was composed by the poet Dhāmsaṭa, the son of Jeika and Amarikā, and grandson of Mehuka, and engraved by Dāmodara, the son of Lakshmidhara and younger brother of Vāsudeva.

Perhaps I may here draw attention to a note on page 5 of *Archaeol. Survey of India*, vol. XIII, according to which there is in the Asiatic Society's collection a rubbing of an inscription from Makuudpur (which is near Chandrehe), dated in (apparently Chedi) Samvat 772. It is very desirable that this inscription should be examined.

¹ From two impressions, prepared by Dr. Führer, and supplied to me by the Editor.

² Read वृद्धिता.

³ Metre of verses 1 and 2, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

⁴ Read श्रेयान्मि.

⁵ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭita.

⁶ Metre, Āryā.

स्त्रायन्तां वस्त्रिसम्भं क्षिपुरविजयिनस्ताण्डवक्रोडितानि ॥¹⁰ —[5].
भक्त्योपसन्नं स्थिरभक्तिगम्यः प-

L. 6.

ज्ञासनं दारुवनेतिरम्ये ।

विधाय युञ्जं विधिना विधिनः किलानुजग्राह पुरा पुरारिः ॥¹¹ —[6].

¹²यच्छन्फलस्विपुलनिर्वृतिवीजमुच्चैः पूर्वोत्तरं विपुलवर्द्धितभूरिशखः ।

तस्माद-

7. पूर्व उदभूम्बुनिवंश एष निर्ग्रन्थिरन्तरतिसारतरोस्तरम्बुः ॥¹³ —[7].

तस्मिन्बुनिः सकललोकनमस्यमूर्त्तिरिन्दूपमः प्रतिदिनं समुदीयमानः ।

श्रीमानभूङ्गुवि कदम्ब(म्ब)गुहाधिवासी तस्माच्च श-

8. ङ्गमठिकाधिपतिर्मुनीन्द्रः ॥ —[8].

तेरम्बि(म्बि)पालः प्रमथाधिपस्य तुलां दधत्कामजयोदयेन ।

ततोभवद्भूरितपास्ततोपि सत्ख्यातिरामईकतीर्थनाथः ॥¹⁴ —[9].

तस्मा-

9. त्पुरन्दरगुरुर्गुरुवद्गरिम्णः प्रज्ञातिरेकजनितस्य व(ब)भूव भूमिः ।

यस्याधुनापि विबु(बु)धैरितिकृत्यशक्ति¹⁵ व्याहृत्यते न वचनं नयमार्गविविद्धिः ॥¹⁶ —[10].

वन्द्यः कोपि चका-

10.

स्यचिन्त्यमहिमा तुल्यं मुनिर्भास्वता

राजवृत्तमशब्द(ब्द)पूर्वशिखराभ्यर्णम्प्रकीर्णद्युतिः ।

दीक्षार्थीति वचो निशम्य सुकृती चारोक्तमुर्वीपति-

र्यस्येहानयनाय यत्नमकरो-

11.

च्छ्रीमानवन्तिः पुरा ॥¹⁷ —[11].

गत्वा तपस्यन्तमुपेन्द्रपूर्वं पुरे तदा श्रीमदवन्तिवर्मा ।

भृशं समाराध्य तमात्मभूमिं कथञ्चिदानीय चकार पूताम् ॥¹⁸ —[12].

अथोपसदाप्य च सम्यगैशीं

12.

दीक्षां स दत्तो गुरुदक्षिणार्थम् ।

निवेद्य यस्मै निजराज्यसारं स्वजन्मसाफल्यमवाप भूपः ॥ —[13].

स कारयामास समृद्धिभाजं मुनिर्मठं सन्मुनिरत्न-

13.

भूमिम् ।

प्रसिद्धमावारिधि मेरुकुलं श्रीमत्पुरे मत्तमयूरनाम्नि ॥ —[14].

पुनर्द्वितीयं स्वयमद्वितीयो गुणैर्मुनीन्द्रो रणिपद्रसंज्ञम् ।

तपोवनं श्रेष्ठमठं वि-

14.

धाय प्रष्ठः प्रतिष्ठां परमां निनाय ॥ —[15].

आसीदतः कवचपूर्वशिवाभिधानो लोकप्रियः कवचवद्दृढदृष्टशक्तिः ।

यः सर्वतो वहति संयति संयताङ्गो

¹⁰ Metre, Sragdharā.

¹¹ Metre, Upajāti.

¹² Read यच्छन्फलं वि°.

¹³ Metre of verses 7 and 8, Vasantatilakā.

¹⁴ Metre, Upajāti.

¹⁵ Read •शक्ति.

¹⁶ Metre, Vasantatilakā.

¹⁷ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹⁸ Metre of verses 12—15 Upajāti.

- L. 15. दाढ्यं गुणाढ्यमिति कामशरैरभेदः ॥¹⁹ —[16].
सदाशिवस्तस्य च शिष्य आसीत्सदा शिवः सर्वजनस्य शान्था ।
तपोवनं यो रणिपद्मनाम प्रसाधयामास
16. तपःसमृद्धा ॥²⁰ —[17].
अस्त्रादनल्पादुदयाद्रिकल्पात्तन्वो(व्)दयोभूषुदयेशसंज्ञः ।
आचार्यसूर्यस्तमसां विदार्य प्रकाममौदार्यमहार्यवीर्यः ॥²¹ —[18].
निरवधि वर्धते न च वि(वि)-
17. भर्त्ति पुरो लघुभावमात्मनः
प्रसरति दिङ्मुखेषु न च चलति मनागपि मार्गसंस्थितः ।
स्फुरति समस्तवर्णरुचितं न च सुञ्चति चारुशुभ्रता-
मलमधुनापि यस्य
18. कृतिनोद्भूतमित्यमहर्निशं यशः ॥²² —[19].
यस्यात्मेन्द्रियनिग्रहे निजगुरुस्थानान्यलंकुर्वतः
प्रीतिः पात्रपरिग्रहे च दधतः साधूपभोग्याः श्रियः ।
स्वभ्य-
19. स्ताखिलशास्त्रनिर्घलमतेरासीत् एकः परं
कान्यैः खोदरपूर्त्तिमात्ररतिभिस्तृष्णाभिभूतैः कथा ॥²³ —[20].
यदि गुणकीर्त्तनमधुना निःशेषं तस्य साधु वि-
20. वृणोमि ।
तद्वक्तुं कीर्त्तिमिमां नावसरः प्रस्तुतां तदलम् ॥²⁴ —[21].
औदार्याद्गुरुभारदुर्वहधुरानिर्व्यूढवीर्योदयः
शिष्यः शिष्यवतां विशेषक इव प्रस्ताव-
21. मुख्यः सताम् ।
श्रीमान्व्योमशिवाह्वयः समभवत्तस्यापि तादृक्पुन-
र्यादृग्भूरिभिरुग्रमद्भुततमैस्तमैस्तपोभिर्भवेत् ॥²⁵ —[22].
ज्ञात्रं अन्य जगत्त्रयेपि दधतः शेषस्य
22. तस्य चमा-
मस्य व्योमपदादिमन्त्ररचनाख्याताभिधानस्य च ।
उद्धर्तुं विपदि प्रजां गुरुभरव्यापारदत्तात्मनो
यस्योदृ(द्रि)क्तपरोपकारकरुणामात्रं प्रवृत्तेः फ-
23. लम् ॥ —[23].
यस्योच्चैश्चरितं चिरात्पुलकभृङ्गण्डस्थलश्रेणिभि-
र्भञ्जुव्यञ्जितम[न्द्र]तारगमकैः संगीयते किन्नरैः ।
सूर्योचन्द्रमसोः समं प्रतपतः प्र[ध्वं]स्य²⁶ दूरं

¹⁹ Metre, Vasantatilakā.²⁰ Metre, Upendravajrā.²¹ Metre, Upajāti.²² Metre, Dhṛitaśrī (or Pañchakāvali); the second line of the verse is incorrect.²³ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.²⁴ Metre, Āryā.²⁵ Metre of verses 22—24, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.²⁶ The sign of *anusvāra* over the second *akṣara* of this word is doubtful in the original.

L. 24.

तम-

स्तस्यास्याङ्गतकर्मणः किमपरै स्तोत्रैर्विचित्रैरपि ॥ —[24].

द्रष्टुमिदमुष्ठानो अदिष्टमितभाषितः ।

योन्वतिष्ठप्रतिष्ठावप्यष्टः सद्गतिनां व्रतम् ॥²⁷ —[25].

यः संय-

25.

मस्य विनयस्य नयस्य सम्यक्पुण्यस्य चारुचरितस्य च कीर्तनस्य ।

एकत्र वस्तुमिति सद्गुण[सं?] ७ — [स्य] त्वष्टा प्रतिश्रयगृहं गृहिणेव जज्ञे ॥²⁸ —[26].

सर्व्वत्र निर्वृतिक-

26.

[रे]ण निरन्तरेण लब्धो(ब्धो)दयेन धवलेन दिगायतेन ।

वर्द्धिष्णुनाधिकमलंकृतमेतदिन्दोर्द्योतिनं यस्य च गुण[प्रस]रेण विश्वम् ॥ —[27].

लोकालोकान्तरालभ्रमणपरिणताव-

27.

र्त्तवेगप्रवृत्ति-

वर्त्तूलोत्ताललीलां द्रुतगतिं तुलयन्व्यासदिक्चक्रवालः ।

निर्झूयाशेषविश्वाक्रमणपटु रजः पावनैर्व्वर्त्तनैर्द्या-

भारादाश्चश्रुवानस्तपस उदग-

28.

मद्यस्य दूरं प्रतापः ॥²⁹ —[28].

येनेदं पुरमापदन्वतमसे मग्नं नियोगाद्विधेः

सत्कीर्त्या रणिपद्रसं[ज्ञम]चिरादुद्धृत्य यत्यान्वमम् ।

भूपृष्ठं शशिनेव निर्मलत-

29.

रस्फारस्फुरत्तेजसा

सर्व्वानन्द्युदयेन पौरसहितं नीतं पुनस्ताः श्रियः ॥³⁰ —[29].

स्फारैर्धान्यहिरण्यरत्ननिवहैर्त्रिःशेषमन्तर्व्वहि-

स्वङ्गत्तुङ्गतुरङ्गमै-

30.

भेदभरोदत्तैश्च गर्ज्जङ्गजैः ।

स्वस्थानस्य विशेषार्णविद्रुतमठस्योद्दामलक्ष्मीभृतो

भूभागास्तपसा पुनर्नवकचः संरेजिरे यस्य च ॥ —[30].

सा स्नाघरा वसतिः स

31.

एव विषयस्ते प्राणिनस्ता दिशः

सा भूर्भूमिपतिः स एव किमतस्ते ते प्रदेशाः परम् ।

यच्चास्तेयमशेषसत्त्व(च्च)हितकृत्कृत्यप्रवृत्तः स्वयं

पु-

32.

स्थानां प्रगुणीकृतोवनिमृजा पुञ्जो वपुष्मानिव ॥ —[31].

यद्वाचां मनसां च गोचरमतिक्रान्तेन भूषान्वितं

यद्नीतं गुणगर्व्वितैर्द्विविध(ष)दां दारैरदभ्यादरं ।

यत्सत्त्व(च्च)ज्वलितैः प्र-

²⁷ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).²⁸ Metre of verses 26 and 27, Vasantatilakā.²⁹ Metre, Sragdharā.³⁰ Metre of verses 29—32, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

L. 33.

चण्डतपसां तेजोभिरम्बीलितं

तन्नान्यत्र चरिन्नमुन्नतमतावच्चैव तावत्स्थितम् ॥ —[32].

पुरा योषित्सङ्गादनिभृतनिजाच्च भगवता

विजिग्ये यः कामस्त्रिपुररिपुणाविष्कृतस्था ।

34. निरुद्धाच्चः चान्धा तमयमजयत्सङ्गरहितः

“ सुचीर्णानां स्याद्वा किमिह तपसां दुष्क[र]मिति ॥ ³¹—[33].

स्फारास्फालनघातनिर्हयदलद्वन्द्वीरभेरीरव-

व्याजेनोज्जगुरा कुमारचरिता-

35.

त्सव्र(वृ)द्भ्यश्चर्यन्तपः ।

यस्याराधयतस्त्रिसंध्यमधुतध्यानस्थितेर्धूर्जटिं

चैतन्योज्जितवृत्तयोपि समये सव्रूपवेलोत्सवाः ॥ ³²—[34].

स्तुत्यं स्यात्किमिहास्य नाम चरितं न स्यात्सुपुण्या-

36.

र्थिना-

मा वा(वा)व्यात्तद्वकीर्त्तिसञ्चिततपस्तेजःसमुत्तेजितम् ।

यस्योच्चैरलधूममहुणंगुरु व्र(व्र)द्वाण्डमाडम्ब(म्ब)र-

व्यग्रैर्द्राक्षतरुद्रवा(वा)हुपरिधैः संधार्यते यन्नतः ॥ —[35].

सिद्धा-

37.

न्तेषु मद्देश एष नियतं न्यायेक्षपादो मुनि-

र्गम्भीरे च कणाशिनस्तु कणभुक्शास्त्रे श्रुतौ जैमिनिः ।

सांख्येनल्पमतिः स्वयञ्च कपिलो लोकायते सङ्गु-

र्वु(र्वु)द्धो वु(वु)द्धमते-

38.

जिनोक्तिषु जिनः को वाथ नायं कृतो ॥ —[36]

यद्भूतं यदनागतं यदधुना किञ्चित्कचिद्वर्त्तते

सम्यग्दर्शनसंपदा तदखिलं पश्यन्प्रमेयं महत् ।

सर्वज्ञः स्फुटमेव

39.

क्षोपि भगवानन्यः क्षिती शंकरो

धत्ते किन्तु न शान्तधीर्विषमदृष्टौद्रं वपुः केवलम् ॥ —[37].

अस्मिन्नुद्दामधानि प्रचुरतरतपःसीन्नि विख्यातनान्नि

सर्वानन्युक्त[सा?]-

40.

न्नि क्षितिभृदुरुभरस्पर्धिपुण्यहरिणि ।

संपन्नप्रेम्णि सत्तु स्वयशसि निहितस्फारसारप्रथिनि

विद्योत्सर्पन्महिम्नि त्रिभुवनतिलके के गुणा हन्त न स्युः ॥ ³³ —[38]

संलीनं

41.

मुख एव शाक्यकरिणामत्यर्जितं गर्जितं

लासाद्यस्य च जैनजसु(सु)कशतैर्दुर्व्याहृतं संहृतं ।

सोढं जातु न जैमिनीयहरिर्लौलाकृतं हुंकृतं

तस्यान्यद्गणेशकान-

³¹ Metre, Śikharinī.³² Metre of verses 34—37, Śārdūlavikrīṭita.³³ Metre, Śragdharā.

- L. 42. नपतेः किं स्यात्स्तुतं प्रस्तुतम् ॥ ³⁴—[39].
यस्योच्चकैः स्फुरति संतमसं निरस्य तेजः परं प्रतिनिशं प्रतिवासरं च ।
अन्यः स एष ननु चन्द्रमसो रवेश्च चन्द्रावदातचरितः सुत-
43. रां चकास्ति ॥ ³⁵—[40].
यस्यामलं स्फुरति सद्गुणरत्नवन्दमानन्दकारि जगतां जलताविहीनं ।
श्रीव्योमशम्भुजलधिः स खलु व्युदस्तृष्णः सतां समभवद्भुवि कोप्यपूर्वः ॥ —[41].
44. माधुर्यं विनयो नयोनलसता त्यागः क्षमा प्रश्रयः
स्वैर्यं धैर्यमहार्यवीर्यकलितं सद्गु(द्गु)ह्यचर्यन्तपः ।
इत्यादि प्रचिनोमि चेतसि चिरं यद्यत्किमप्यादरा-
त्तत्तत्स-
45. [र्व]मचिन्त्यमस्य महतः कस्यास्तु वाचां पथि ॥ ³⁶—[42].
रेजुः सज्जनरक्तभावजननान्या सिन्धुवेलावधे-
स्त्रिं यस्य यशांसि कुन्दकलिकाक्रोडप्रभामांज्यपि ।
तस्यायं खलु देव-
46. तायतनवान्वापोनिवेशः शुभः —
सोद्यानः प्रथते स्वकीर्त्तिविभवः साक्षादिवानश्वरः ॥ —[43].
शिवयुग्ममुमादेवीनाद्येश्वरविनायकौ ।
स मठं मन्दिरै रम्यैरयमेतान्य-
47. चीकरत् ॥ ³⁷—[44].
प्रतिक्षपं या प्रतिवि(बि)म्ब(म्ब)तां गते मुनिर्मले वारिणि तारकागणे ।
कुमुदतीसङ्गसमुज्झिताप्यलं विभाति विष्वक्कुमुदैरिवाचिता ॥ ³⁸—[45].
प्रसादमाधुर्यनिकाम-
48. हृद्यं विराजते यत्र गभीरमश्वः ।
विडम्ब(म्ब)यत्सत्कविकाव्यव(ब)न्धं विशुद्धवर्णाहितचारुशोभम् ॥ ³⁹—[46].
शैलात्मजाभक्तिपरप्रयातपौराङ्गनानूपुरशिञ्जितेन ।
प्रतिक्षुण्णं
49. या कलहंसनादभ्रमं विधत्ते श्रुतिपेशलेन ॥ ⁴⁰—[47].
धृतोदपाद्वावनताङ्गनानां मुखैर्विचित्राधरपत्र(त्त)रम्यैः ।
तोयं गतैर्या प्रतिवि(बि)म्ब(म्ब)नेन भृ[शा?]रविन्देव वि(बि)भर्त्ति शोभाम् ॥ —[48].
50. अपूर्वविन्यासविशेषकेण विभूषिता या दयितेव दृष्टा ।
सोपानमालावलिचारुमध्या नानन्दयत्कस्य मनो मनोज्ञा ॥ —[49].
प्रासादा यत्र भासन्ते कुन्देन्दुकुमुदोज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)-
51. लाः ।
श्रीव्योमेशमहीव्यापियशोवीजाङ्गुरा इव ॥ ⁴¹—[50].
या नीलकण्ठेन तटीपेकण्ठं कृतासदा धाम परं सुखस्य ।
प्रासादरम्या रमणीयभूमिः पुरा पुरारिः सदृशी चका-

³⁴ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.³⁵ Metre of verses 40 and 41, Vasantatilakā.³⁶ Metre of verses 42 and 43, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.³⁷ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).³⁸ Metre, Vamśastha.³⁹ Metre, Upendravajrā.⁴⁰ Metre of verses 47—49, Upajāti.⁴¹ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

- L. 52. स्ति ॥ ⁴²—[51].
यत्सन्निधौ सान्द्रसुधासितिम्ना प्रासादमालानुदिनं विभाति ।
भयेन भानोः परिणाममेव ज्योत्स्ना स्थितेवामरसद्गमूर्च्छा ॥ —[52].
अम्भोनिधिस्तुङ्गतुषारशैलैः सम्यग्वि-
53. राजेद्यदि कूललीनैः ।
तेनोपमीयेत तदा स्फुटं या समुन्नतैर्त्राकिण्डहैर्विभान्ती ॥ —[53].
अमुक्तमुक्ताफलचारुकान्ति तोयं सदैव प्रतिभाति यत्र ।
अमूर्त्ततावाच्यमसोढका-
54. ममुच्चैरभूभूर्त्तमिवान्तरिक्षम् ॥ —[54].
शरन्निशेवामलचन्द्रकान्त्या सरोजलक्ष्मेव सरोजलङ्घिः ।
अलङ्कृता चारुतया व्यधत्त या निर्वृतिं कस्य न दृश्यमाना ॥ —[55].
या सर्व्वदा
55. नोष्मति यन्निकामं सत्सूपकारं च गभीरतां च ।
अलैरनलैर्भृशमास्थितापि फलं तदेतद्धि कुलीनतायाः ॥ —[56].
मृगाङ्गवि(वि)म्बे(म्बे) प्रतिमागते या स्फुरत्तरङ्गाङ्गुलिभिर्वि-
56. लोलि ।
स्वचारुसौन्दर्यविलोकनाय धृतामलादर्शतलेव भाति ॥ ⁴³—[57].
स्थिराणि तुङ्गानि सुधोज्ज्वलानि निरन्तराण्यार्जवसुन्दराणि ।
सतां मनांसीव सदानुकूलं विभान्ति यस्याः
57. चुरमन्दिराणि ॥ —[58].
इदं नभः किन्द्रवता कुतोस्य किम्बामृतन्तत्कथमत्र चित्रम् ।
अप्राय यचेति वितर्क्युक्तो जलं न निश्चेतुमलं जनौघः ॥ ⁴⁴—[59].
सन्मीनभूमिर्भवतु प्रकामं मनोर-
58. मा द्यौर्व्व(र्व्व)ङ्गुवारिदा च ।
तथापि सामान्यगुणादुदस्ता यया विचित्रां रचनां दधत्वा ॥ —[60].
जित्वारिषड्गुणमनर्थमूलं धर्म्यं रताः सन्तु सदैव सन्तः ।
यस्यामितीवाह सुरालया-
59. ली निलीनपा[राव]तमन्द्रनादैः ⁴⁵ ॥—[61].
रङ्गत्तरङ्गातिमनोरमभ्र रथाङ्गनामोरूपयोधरा या ।
दिक्षु चिपन्ती शफरीकटाक्षानचूचुरत्पान्यदृशं प्रियेव ॥ —[62].
यदस्ति किञ्चित्काचि-
60. दप्यनिन्द्यमानन्दहेतुर्जगतीह वस्तु ।
तदेकदेशे निखिलं विधाय या वेधसोच्चैर्घटितेव रम्या ॥ —[63].
कुवलयमतीव वापीं विभूषयति यदतिमुप्रसिद्धमदः ।
चित्रमिद-

⁴² Metre of verses 51—56, Upajāti.

⁴³ Metre of verses 57 and 58, Upendravajrā.

⁴⁴ Metre of verses 59—63, Upajāti; read किंवापु?

⁴⁵ The second of the two *aksharas* in brackets was originally प.

- L. 61. नु विचित्रा या कुवलयमप्यलंकुते ॥ ⁴⁶—[64].
 स्थिरा सैषा वापी गगनशशिमौलिर्भगवतो
 भवत्वाचन्द्रार्कमथिततपसो भूरियशसः ।
 यदीये भातीयं शरदमलचन्द्रांशुधवला
62. सुराणां सद्माली विकटतटपृष्ठे शिखरिणी ॥ ⁴⁷—[65].
 वापीतः निकटं यः पादपमारोपयिष्यति [ब्राह्म्य]ः ।
 याता स पञ्चपातकयुक्तः खलु दुस्तरे निरये ॥ ⁴⁸—[66].
 पञ्चैव
63. तेषामिह पातकानि स्वप्स्यन्ति खट्वासु गठा मठे ये ।
 येभ्यन्तरे मूढधियो रजन्यां दास्यन्त्यनार्या वसतिश्च नार्याः—॥ ⁴⁹—[67].
 प्रशस्ता देवसंलापपूर्वदत्ताङ्गयेन या ।
64. विहिता मुख्यशब्दा(ब्दा)र्या सा [मुदेस्तु सतामियम्] ॥⁵⁰ —[68].
 देवदत्तसुतेनैषा हरदत्तेन वणिर्णता ।
 वापी[प्रश]स्तिका रम्या जेज्जाकेनोदखोटि च ॥ —[69].
 रुद्रेण लिखिता ॥ ❀ ॥

XLII.—HAMPE INSCRIPTION OF KRISHNARAYA, DATED SAKA 1430.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

The original of this inscription is in the great Śiva temple of Pampâpati¹ at the modern village of Hampe, which is situated on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra river and at the north-western extremity of the ruins of Vijayanagara. It is engraved on the south and north faces of a stone tablet, which is set up in front of a *mandapa*. The south face is badly mutilated at the bottom. The second half of the inscription, which is in fair preservation, was published by Mr. Fleet from a photograph by Dr. Pigou.² A rough transcript and paraphrase of the Sanskrit portion and a translation of the Kanarese portion of the inscription had already before appeared in the *Asiatic Researches*.³ I re-edit the whole from an estampage made in 1889.

A second copy of the same inscription is engraved on the north and south faces of another stone tablet, which is set up to the left of the entrance to the Pampâpati temple. This copy is much worn, but helps to ascertain how many verses are lost at the bottom of the south face of the first copy.

⁴⁶ Metre, Āryā.

⁴⁷ Metre, Śikharinī.

⁴⁸ Metre, Āryā.

⁴⁹ Metre, Indravajrā.

⁵⁰ Metre of verses 68 and 69, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

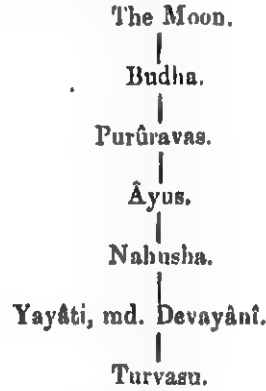
¹ No. 13 on the Madras Survey Map of Hampe.

² *Ind. Ant.*, vol. V, pp. 73ff. The photograph was published in the *Inscriptions in Dharwar and Mysore*, issued by Mr. (now Sir) T. C. Hope in 1866, No. 32; and reproduced by the Arch. Survey of Western India in *Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old Canarese Inscriptions* (1878), No. 115.

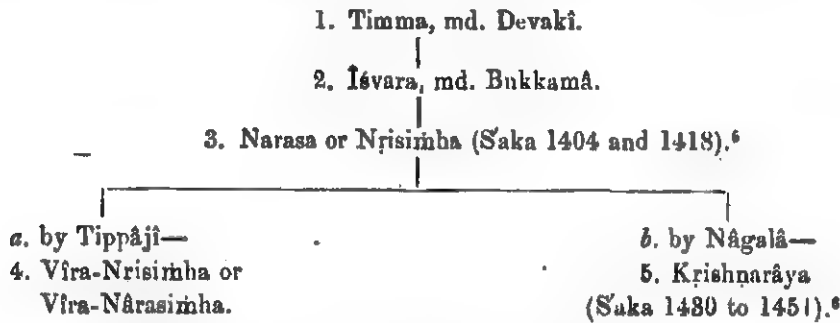
³ Vol. XX, pp. 25 and 39 (fourth inscription), and p. 34 (twelfth inscription).

The inscription opens with 29 Sanskrit verses, which contain a genealogical account of the second Vijayanagara dynasty down to Kṛṣṇarāya. Then follows a passage in Sanskrit prose, which records a gift to the temple by this king. The document ends with a Kanarese version of the same donation.

The genealogy consists of a mythical and a historical part. The former (verses 3 and 4) runs as follows :—



The historical part begins with verse 5 :—“In his (*viz.*, Turvasu's) race shone king Timma, who was famous among the princes of Tuluva, just as Kṛṣṇa shone in the race of Yadu.” From this verse we learn, first, that the founder of the second Vijayanagara dynasty was a native of Tulu or Northern Malayālam, the country of the Tuluvas. Secondly, he must have been a usurper, as he claims only a mythical relationship to the princes of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara. For, while the kings of this dynasty used to derive their origin from Yadu,⁴ Timma selected, in opposition to his predecessors on the throne, Yadu's younger brother Turvasu as the mythical progenitor of his race. The inscription continues the pedigree from Timma as follows :—



The description of the reigns of these kings is purely conventional. At first sight a historical fact seems to be contained in verse 10, according to which king Narasa conquered Śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa. But a reference to a published inscription of Harihara II.⁷ shows that this verse was borrowed, together with others, from an “office copy” of the first dynasty, in which it had formed part of the description of the reign of Saṃgama. Regarding the successors of Kṛṣṇarāya, the reader is referred to the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIII, p. 154.

⁴ See, e.g., Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, vol. I, pp. 156 and 160.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 131, No. 115, and p. 132, No. 119. In both inscriptions the king is called Narasimha.

⁶ The earliest date is that of the present inscription, and the latest that of another inscription at Vijayanagara; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XX, p. 29.

⁷ *Journal, Bombay Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. XII, p. 352, lines 17 to 20.

The second part of the inscription, which is written in Sanskrit prose (north face, lines 11 to 25), records that Kṛṣṇadeva-mahārāya gave the village of Siṅgenāyakanahalli to the Śiva temple called Virūpāksha, and built an assembly-hall (*raṅga-maṇḍapa*) in connection with the same temple. Virūpākshadeva, the old name of the Pampāpati temple, occurs already in inscriptions of Bukka and Harihara II. of the first dynasty.⁸ By the assembly-hall must be meant the *maṇḍapa*, in front of which the stone tablet is set up. In a verse (30), with which the Sanskrit portion ends, the inscription is called an edict (*śāsana*) of Kṛṣṇarāya.

The same donation is referred to, with some additions, in the Kanarese portion, where, however, the name of the village is spelt Siṅgināyakanahalli, with an *i* instead of an *e* in the second syllable.⁹ Lines 27f. of the north face contain the date of the grant, Śālivāhana-Śaka-varsha 1430 expired, the Śukla-samvatsara current,¹⁰ Māgha Śu 14, on which day was the festival of the king's coronation. Though no earlier inscriptions of Kṛṣṇarāya are known, it is at present impossible to say, whether the real day of the coronation or an anniversary of it is intended.

In the Sanskrit portion of the inscription occur two Kanarese *birudas*, to which the Sanskrit case-termination is affixed (*bhāṣhege tappuva rāyara gaṇḍaḥ*, north face, line 4, and *māru-rāyara gaṇḍaḥ*, line 5f.), also a Sanskritized form of an Arabic word (*sura-trāṇa* = سلطان, lines 6 and 14) and of a Persian word (*hindu* = هندو, line 6); instead of *rājan*, the Kanarese *tadbhava rāya* is frequently used.

TEXT.

A.—South face.

- L. 1. श्रीकृष्णदेवराय श्री
 2. शुभमस्तु । नमस्तुंगशिरसुर्विचंद्रचामरचार[वे] ।
 3. चैलोक्यनगरारंभमूलस्तंभाय शंभवे ॥ [१*]
 4. कल्याणायास्तु तद्धाम प्रत्युहतिमिरापहं । यद्गजाध्यगजोद्भू-
 5. तं हरिणापि च पूज्यते । [२*] अस्ति क्षीरमयादेवैर्मथ्यमानाम्महांबुधेः । नव-
 6. नीतमिवोद्भूतमपनीततमो महः । [३*] तस्यासीत्तनयस्तपोभिरतुलैरन्वर्थ्यनामा
 7. बुधः (i) पुण्ड्रैरस्य पुण्ड्रवा भुजबलैरायुर्हिषान्निघ्नतः । तस्यायुर्नृद्ध-
 8. षोऽस्य तस्य पक्षो युष्मे ययातिः चित्तौ (i) ख्यातस्तस्य तु धुर्व्वसुर्व्वसुनिभः¹¹
 9. श्रीदेवयानीपतेः ॥ [४*] तद्वंशे देवकीजानिर्हिदीपे तिम्रभूपतिः । यशस्वी तुळुवेदेषु
 10. यदोः कृष्ण इवान्वये ॥ [५*] ततोभूद्भुक्माजानिरोश्वरचित्तिपालकः । अचासमगुणभ्रं-
 11. शं मौळिरत्नं महीभुजां ॥ [६*] पद्माक्षो बलिजिन्निजैस्त्रिभुवनाक्रांतित्तमैर्व्विक्रमैः[ः]
 12. शंक्वं चक्रमपि अयन्निजकरे श्रीदेवकीनंदनः । भूत्वाप्यद्भुतमीश्वरोयमिति
 13. या¹² भूयस्तरां (i) पप्रथे (i) भूतिं चाखिलपूज्यतामतिभृशं भूभृत्सुतामा-
 14. श्रितः ॥ [७*] भूवासैकपरोपरो रविरिव प्राप्नोदयोद्विंशं (i) यो मंदेहरिपूनहन् कविबुधोपे-

⁸ *Journal, Bombay Br. R. A. Soc.*, vol. XII, pp. 351, 376 and 377. Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Madras edition, vol. II, p. 259.

⁹ The second copy of the inscription agrees with this one in the different spelling of the name of the village at both places.

¹⁰ According to the tables, the Śukla-samvatsara corresponded to Śaka 1432 (A.D. 1509-10).

¹¹ Read तुर्व्वसु°.

¹² Read यो.

- L. 15. तीनपेतो रणात् । आपूर्वापरवारिराशि नितरामासेतुहेमाचलं (i) विख्यातो विह्वमंश्च यो
वित-
16. रणैर्व्यद्योतत द्योतरून् ॥ [८*] सरसादुदभूतस्मात्परसावनिपालकः । देवकीनंदनात् कामो देव-
17. [की]नंदनादिव ॥ [८*] कावेरीमाशु बध्वा¹³ बह्मजलरयां तां विलंघ्यैव शत्रुं (i) जीव-
ग्राहं गृहीत्वा
18. समिति भुजबलात्तं च राज्यं तदीयं । कृत्वा श्रीरंगपूर्वं तदपि निजवशे पट्टणं यो ब-
19. भासे (i) कीर्त्तिस्तंभनिखाय त्रिभुवनभवनस्तूयमानापदानः ॥ [१०*] चेरं चोळं च पाण्ड्यं
तम-
20. पि च म[धु]रावल्लभं मानभूषं (i) वीर्योदयं तुरुष्कं गजपतिनृपतिं चापि जित्वा तद-
21. न्यान् । आगंगातीरलंकाप्रथमचरमभूभृत्तटांतन्नितांतं (i) ख्यातः [ची]णीपती-
22. नां स्रजमिव शिरसां शासनं यो व्यतानीत् ॥ [११*] विविधसुकृतोद्दामे रामेश्वरप्रमुखे सुहु-
23. र्मुदितहृदयः स्थाने स्थाने व्यधत्त यथाविधि¹⁴ । बुधपरिवृतो नानादानानि यो भुवि
24. षोडश त्रिभुवनजनीद्रीतं स्फोटं यशः पुनरुक्त[यन्] [॥ १२ ॥ तिप्पाजीनाम*]लादेव्योः कौस-
25. ल्याश्रीसुमित्रयोः । देव्योरिव नृसिंहैर्द्राक्तस्मा[त्पं][क्तिरथादिव¹⁵ ॥ १३ ॥ वीरौ*] विनयिनी
राम-
26. लक्ष्मणाविव नंदनी । जातौ वीरनृसिंहैर्द्राक्तणरा[यमहीपती¹⁶ ॥ १४*] वीरश्रीनारसिंहस्व¹⁷
27. विजयनगरे रत्नसिंहासनस्थः¹⁸ कीर्त्या नीत्या निरस्यनृ[गनलनहुषा*]नप्यव[न्य]ामथान्यान् ॥
28. आ सेतोरा सुमेरोरवनिमुरनुतस्वैरमा चोदया[द्वेरा पाथात्वाच*]लात्तादखिल-
29. हृदयमावर्ज्यं राज्यं शशास ॥ [१५*] नानादानान्यका[र्षी][ल्लनकस*]दसि [यः श्री]विरू-
पाक्षदेव-
30. स्थाने श्रीकाळहस्तीशितुरपि नगरे वेंक[टा]द्री च कां[च्यां] श्रीशैले शोणशैले महति
31. हरिहरहोदले संगमे च (i) श्रीरंगे कुंभघोणे [ह]त[तम]सि महानंदितोऽर्थे निवृत्तौ ॥
[१६*] गोकर्णे¹⁹
32. रामसेतौ जगति तदितरेष्वप्यशेषेषु पुण्यस्थानेष्वार[व्यना*]नाविधबह्ममहादानवारिप्रवा-
33. हैः । यस्योदंचतुरंगप्यकरखुरजशुभ्यदं[भोधिम*]ग्नस्त्राभृत्पक्षच्छिदोद्यत्तरकु-
34. लिशधरोल्लंठिता कुंठिताभूत् ॥ [१७*] ब्रह्मांडं विश्वचक्रं [घट*]मुदितमहाभूतकं रत्नधे[नं]
35. स[म]भोधिं च²⁰ कल्पक्षितिहलतिके कांचनीं कामधेनुं । स्वर्गस्त्रा²¹ यो हिरण्याश्वरथमपि तु-
36. [लापू*]रुषं गोसहस्रं (i) हेमाश्वं हेमगर्भं कनककरिरथं पंचलांगल्यतानीत् ॥ [१८*] प्र[ग]-
37. [ज्य*] प्रशा[स्य] निर्विघ्नं राज्यं द्यामिव शासितुं । तस्मिन् गुणेन विख्याते क्षितेरिद्रे [दिवं ग]-
[ते ॥ १९*]
38. [तती*]प्य[वा]र्यवीर्यः श्रीकृष्णरायमहीपतिः । बिभर्त्ति मणिकेयूरनिर्व्विशेषं मङ्गी*
39. [भु*][जे] ॥ [२०*] कीर्त्या यस्य समंततः प्र[सृत]या विश्वं बचैक्यं ब्रजे- (i) दित्याशंक्य [पु]-
[रा पुरारिभ*]-
40. [वद्वा*]लिच्छणः प्रायशः । पद्माक्षोपि च[तु][र्भुजोजनि च*]तुर्व्वक्त्रोभवत्पद्म[भूः काली खड्ग*]-
41. [मधाद्र*][म]ग च [कमलं] वी[णां] [च वाणी करे ॥ २१*]

¹³ Read बद्धा.¹⁴ Read यथाविधि.¹⁵ Read वृसिंहन्द्र°.¹⁶ Read °सिंहन्द्र°.¹⁷ Read °सिंहः स.¹⁸ Read °सिंह°.¹⁹ Read गोकर्णे.²⁰ Read सम्राज्योर्ध्वं.²¹ Read स्वर्गस्त्रा.

[Here two verses are entirely lost through the mutilation of the stone. The following transcript of them is made from the duplicate copy with the help of other Vijayanagara inscriptions:—]

श्रवणां वासमेते ददत इति रुषा किंनु सप्तांबुरासीन्नानाशेना²²तुरंगचुटितवसुमतीधूमिका-
पाळिकाभिः । संशोष्य स्वरमेतत्पति²³निधिजलधिश्चेणिका यो विधत्ते (i) ब्रह्मांडस्व-
र्ग²⁴मेरुप्रमुखनिजमहादानतोयैरमेये²⁵ ॥ [२२*]

महत्तामर्थिसार्थाः²⁶ श्रियमिह सुचिरं भुंजतामित्यवेत्य प्रायः²⁷ प्रत्यहहेतोस्तपनरथगतैरा-
लया²⁸ देवतानां [i*] तत्तु दिक्जैत्रवत्यापि²⁷ च बिरुदपदैरंकितांस्तत्र तत्र स्तंभान् जात-
प्रतिष्ठान् व्यतनुत भुवि यो भूभृदभ्रं कषाघान् ॥ [२३*]

B.—North face.

- L. 1. [कां]चीश्रीशैलशोणाचलकनकसभावेकटाद्रिप्रमुख्येषाव[र्त्य]।वर्त्य स-
2. वी[ध्व]तनुत विधिवत् भूयसे श्रेयसे यः [i*] देवस्थानेषु तीर्थेष्वपि कनकतुलापू-
3. रुषादीनि नानादानान्येवो[प]दानैरपि सममखिलैरागमोक्तानि तानि ॥ [२४*] रोषकतप्रति-
4. पाठ्यैर्वदंडश्लेषभुजः क्षितिरेक्षणशौडः । भाषेगे तप्पुव रायर गंडडस्तोषक-
5. दध्यै[षु] यो रणचंडः ॥ [२५*] राजाधिराज इत्युक्तो यो राजपरमेश्वरः । मू ६७ राय-
6. र गंडड पररायभयंकरः ॥ [२६*] हिंदुरायसुरचाणो दुष्टशार्दूलमर्दनः । ग-
7. जौघगंडडभैरुड [इ]त्यादिबिरुदान्वितः ॥ [२७*] आलोक्य महाराज जय जीवेति वा-
8. दिभिः । अंगवंगकळिंगाद्यैः⁽ⁱ⁾ राजभिः सेव्यते च यः ॥ [२८*] स्तुत्यौदार्यसुधीभिस्त-
9. विजयनगरे रत्नसिंहासनस्थः⁽ⁱ⁾ [i] [क्षा]पालान् कृ[ष्ण]रायक्षितिपतिरधरोक्त्य नोत्या नृ-
10. गादी[न] । आ पूर्वोद्रे[य]।स्त[क्षि]तिधरकटकादा च हेमाचलांता- (i) दा सेतोरर्ध्यासा-
11. र्ध्याश्रयमिह²⁹ बह्वक्कीकृत्य कीर्त्या समिधे ॥ [२९*] इह किल जगति निखिलकाव-
कुलाभिनं-
12. द्यमानौदार्यधैर्यशौर्यादिजनितयशःपूरकपूर्णपूरितब्रह्मांड-
13. करंडेन समरचंडेन विह[सि]तनृगनऊनहुषनाभागदुंधुमार³⁰मांघातृभरतभ-
14. गीरथदशरथरामादिचरितेन कृतभूसुरचाणेन परिभूतसुरचाणेन गजपतिगजकूट-
15. पाकलेन विदि[त]नाना[क]लेन वदनविजितांभोजेन भोजेनापरेण काव्यनाटका³⁰लंकारमन्त्र-
16. ज्ञे[न] धर्मज्ञेन प्रतिवर्षप्रवर्ति[त]कनकवसंतमहोत[वि]नसवेन³¹ कृतार्थितविष्पुसाद्यै-
17. [न] साध्यैर्न निखिलनृपतिमूर्धन्येन धन्येन नागांबिकानरसमृपनंदनेन नि-
18. खिलहृदयानंदनेन समरमुखविजयेन विजयेन दिशां विजय-
19. नगरे सिंहासनमारुह्य शासता सकलां भुवं भुजविजितसांपराये-
20. ण कृष्णदेवमहारायेण भुवनभरणसाव[ध]।नाय श्रीविरूपा-
21. क्षाभिधानाय वितोर्न³²विनतजनहेमकूटाय हेमकूटायत-
22. नशालिने शूलिने मधुरफलपूपादिहृदयाय नैवेद्याय सिंगेनायक-
23. नहक्कीति विख्यातनामा चतुस्सोमाभिरामो ग्रामो दत्तो वित्तोपकारिणा

²² Read °राश्रीनानासेना°.

²³ Read स्वरमेतत्पति°.

²⁴ Read ब्रह्माण्डस्वर्ग°.

²⁵ Read °मेयेः°.

²⁶ Read °स्ययः°.

²⁷ Read तत्तुदिक्जैत्रवत्यापि°.

²⁸ Read °श्रियमिह°.

²⁹ Read °धुंधुमार°.

³⁰ Read °नाटका°.

³¹ Read °महोत्सवेनसवेन°.

³² Read वितीर्ण°.

- L. 24. रवितनयानुकारिणा रंगमंडपोपि विरचितस्तस्यैव देवस्य तेनैव प्रकटित-
 25. नरजनुषा प्सूनध[नु]षा ॥ तदिदमवनीवनीपकविनुतधरायस्य
 26. कृष्णरायस्य । शासनमतिबलशासनतत्करदानस्य [सापद]ानस्य ॥ [३०*] ❀ ॥
 27. ❀ स्वस्ति श्रीविजयाभ्युदयशालिवाहनशकवर्ष १४३० संदु
 28. मेलि नडव शुक्लसंवत्सरद माघ शु १४लु श्रीमन्महाराजा-
 29. धिराजराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवीरप्रतापश्रीवीरकृष्णरायमहा-
 30. रायर् पट्टाभिषेकोत्सवपुण्यकालदलु श्रीविरूपा-
 31. क्षदेवर अमृतपडिनद्वे[द्येके]³³ सिंगिनायकनहक्कियन स-
 32. मर्पिसि देवर संमुखद-महारंगमंटपवनू आ मुंद-
 33. ण गोपुरवनू कट्टिसि आ मुंदणं हिरिय गोपुरवनू
 34. जीर्णोद्धारवनू माडिसि श्रीविरूपाक्षदेवरिगे नव-
 35. रत्नखचितवाद सुवर्चकमलवनू नागाभरणवनू
 36. समर्पिसिदर [१*] देवर नै[वे]द्य आरोग[ग]णे माडुवदके सम-
 37. र्पिस्त³⁴ चिन्नद हरिवाण १ आरतिहलगे २ बेळ्ये
 38. आरति २४ इष्टनू समर्पिसिदर ॥ यो धर्मके
 39. तप्पिदवरगळु गोहृत्य[१*]ब्रह्महत्यादिमंहा-
 40. पातकगळ मा[डिद] पापके होगलुळ्ळवर [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

A. Sanskrit portion.

(This is an edict of) the illustrious Kṛishṇadevarāya.

Hail! Let there be prosperity!

(Verse 1.) Adoration to Śaṁbhu (*Śiva*), who is adorned, as with a *chāmara*, with the moon that kisses his lofty head, and who is the principal pillar at the building of the city of the three worlds!³⁵

(2.) May that lustre (*Gaṇeśa*),—which dispels the darkness of obstacles, and which, though (*it has the head of*) an elephant (*gaja*), was born from the mountain-daughter (*Agajā*), and is worshipped even by Hari (*Vishṇu*),—produce happiness!³⁶

(3.) There was produced, like fresh butter, from the great ocean of milk, when it was churned by the gods, the luminary which dispels darkness (*i.e.*, the moon).

(4.) The son of this (*moon*) was Budha, whose name (*was made*) true to its meaning³⁷ by his unequalled austerities. In consequence of his pious deeds (*he obtained a son*), Purūravas. (*The son*) of him, who destroyed the life (*āyus*) of his enemies by

³³ Read 'नैवेद्यके'.

³⁴ Read 'समर्पिसिद'.

³⁵ An easier reading would be 'वैलोक्ष्यनगरालम्बसूत्रभाय', 'the principal pillar of support of the city of the three worlds.' Compare 'आलम्बसूत्रभक्तं त्रिभुवनभवनस्य', 'the single pillar of support of the house of the three worlds,' *ante*, p. 310, verse 26.

³⁶ On the *virodhābhāsa* between *gaja* and *agajā*, see *Journal, Bombay Br. R. As. S.*, vol. XII, p. 372, note 2. There is also a play on the word *hari*, which signifies 'Vishṇu,' and at the same time 'the lion,' which is considered as the natural enemy of the elephant.

³⁷ Budha means 'a wise man' or 'a god.'

the strength of his arm, was Âyus. His (son) was Nabusha. His (son) was Yayâti, who was fierce in battle (and) famed on earth. (The son) of this husband of the glorious Devayâni was Turvasu, who resembled the Vasus.

(V. 5.) In his race shone king Timma, whose wife was Devakî, (and) who was famous among the princes of Tuḷuva, just as Kṛishṇa (shone) in the race of Yadu.

(6.) From him was born king Îśvara, whose wife was Bukkamâ (and) who was the fearless and virtuous crest-jewel³⁸ of kings.

(7.) Oh wonder! Though (like Kṛishṇa) he was the son of the glorious Devakî, though (like Viṣṇu) he had lotus eyes, though he acquired tribute (bali) by his valour which was able to subdue the three worlds, (just as Viṣṇu in his Vâmanâvatâra acquired the three worlds from Bali by his three steps), and though he bore (the auspicious marks of) the conch and the discus in his hand,—he became still more famous by the name of Îśvara, as he obtained prosperity (bhûti), universal worship, and the daughter of a king, (just as the god Îśvara wears ashes [bhûti], is universally worshipped, and is the husband of the daughter of the mountain).

(8.) Like another sun, who always dwelt on earth, he,—who was continually rising, who was surrounded by poets and wise men, who never fled from war (and) who was highly famed from the eastern to the western ocean (and) from (Râma's) Bridge to the golden mountain (Meru),—killed the enemies, (as the sun conquers) the Mandehas,³⁹ and shone, surpassing the trees of heaven by his gifts.

(9.) From this lovely son of Devakî was born king Narasa, just as Kâma from (Kṛishṇa) the son of Devakî.

(10.) Resplendent was he, who quickly bridged the Kâveri,⁴⁰ (though) it consisted of a rapid current of copious water, crossed over it, straightway captured alive in battle with the strength of his arm the enemy, brought his kingdom and (the city of) Śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa⁴¹ under his power and set up a pillar of fame,—his heroic deeds being praised in the three worlds, (which appeared to be) the palace (of his glory).

(11.) Having conquered the Chera, the Choḷa, the proud Pâṇḍya (who was) the lord of Madhurâ, the brave Turushka, the Gajapati king and others, he, who was exceedingly famed from the banks of the Gaṅgâ to Laṅkā and from the slopes of the eastern to those of the western mountain, spread his command like a garland on the heads of kings.

(12.) At Râmeśvara⁴² and every other shrine on earth which abounds in sacredness, he, with joyful heart, surrounded by wise men, repeatedly performed the sixteen kinds of gifts according to rule, (thus) making superfluous (his previously acquired) great fame, which was sung by the inhabitants of the three worlds.

³⁸ With reference to *mauliratna* in its literal sense, *atrâsa* and *agunabhramsa* have to be taken in the second meanings 'flawless' and 'not losing its string.'

³⁹ 'A class of terrific Râkshasas, who were hostile to the sun and endeavoured to devour him;' Dowson's *Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*. According to Sanderson's *Canarese Dictionary*, the sun has the surname Mandeha-mardana, 'the destroyer of the Mandehas.'

⁴⁰ Śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa, *vulgo* Seringapatam, which, later on, became the capital of the Maisûr Odeyars and of Tipû, is situated on an island of the Kâveri.

⁴¹ Literally, '(that compound ending in) paṭṭaṇa, the first member of which is Śrīraṅga.' On similar expressions, see Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 166, note 6.

⁴² This is the celebrated place of pilgrimage on an island, 33 miles east of Râmnâd. According to Mr. Rice (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. lvii, note), another Râmeśvara-tirtha is situated on an island near the junction of the Tuṅgâ and Bhadrâ rivers. Three other Râmeśvaras are noticed by Mr. Sewell in his *Lists of Antiquities*, vol. I, pp. 38, 41, 125.

(*Vv.* 13 and 14.) Just as Râma and Lakshmaṇa (*were born*) to Daśaratha by his queens Kausalyâ and the glorious Sumitrâ, (*thus*) two brave (*but*) modest sons, prince Vîra-Nṛisimha and prince Kṛishṇarâya, were born to king Nṛisimha by his queens Tippâjî and Nâgalâ (*respectively*).

(15.) The illustrious Vîra-Nârasimha,—seated on a jewelled throne at Vijayanagara, surpassing in fame (*and*) wisdom Nṛiga, Nala, Nahusha and (*all*) other (*kings*) on earth, being voluntarily praised by the Brâhmanas (*and*) winning all hearts,—ruled the kingdom from (*Râma's*) Bridge to (*Mount*) Sumeru and from the mountain of the east to the western mountain.

(16.) He performed various gifts at the Golden Hall,⁴³ at the shrine of the holy Virûpâkshadeva,⁴⁴ at the town of the holy lord of Kâlahasti,⁴⁵ on Venkaṭâdri,⁴⁶ at Kâñchî, at Śrîsâila,⁴⁷ at Śoṇasâila,⁴⁸ at the sacred (*city of*) Harihara,⁴⁹ at Ahobala,⁵⁰ at Saṁgama,⁵¹ at Śrîraṅga,⁵² at Kumbhaghona,⁵³ at the sinless *tîrtha* of Mahânandi⁵⁴ (*and*) at Nivṛitti.⁵⁵

(17.) The streams of water (*poured out*) at copious great gifts of various kinds, which he performed at Gokarṇa,⁵⁶ at Râma's Bridge, and at all other sacred places in the world, frustrated the eagerness of (*Indra*) the bearer of the thunderbolt, who was ardently rising to clip the wings⁵⁷ of the mountains, which were immersed in the ocean, that was being dried up by the dust of the hoofs of the troops of his prancing horses.

(18.) He performed (*the gifts of*) a mundane egg, a wheel of the universe, a pot containing the (*five*) elements, a jewelled cow, the seven oceans, a tree and a creeper of paradise, a celestial cow of gold, an earth of gold, a horse-chariot of gold, the weight of a man (*in gold*), a thousand cows, a horse of gold, a (*golden vessel called*) *hemagarbha*, an elephant-car of gold, and five ploughs.⁵⁸

⁴³ *Kanaka-sadas* is a synonym of *Kanaka-sabha*, 'the Golden Hall,' at the temple of Chidambaram in the South Arcot district.

⁴⁴ This old name of the Pampâpati temple occurs also in lines 20, 30 and 34 of the north face of this inscription.

⁴⁵ This town is now the residence of a Zamindâr in the North Arcot district.

⁴⁶ Venkaṭâdri, 'the hill of Venkaṭa,' is the name of the holy mountain (*Tirumalai*) near Tirupati in the North Arcot district.

⁴⁷ In the Karnûl district.

⁴⁸ Śoṇasâila or Śoṇâchala, 'the red mountain,' is the hill of Tiruvannâmalai in the South Arcot district.

⁴⁹ This town is situated in the Maisûr territory on the frontier of Dhârwâd.

⁵⁰ In the Karnûl district.

⁵¹ H. Kṛishṇa Śâstri, my Kanarese assistant, informs me, that Saṁgama-tîrtha is commonly used as a designation of Râmeśvara.

⁵² This is the great island temple near Trichinopoly.

⁵³ In the Tanjore district.

⁵⁴ In the Karnûl district.

⁵⁵ A similar list of holy places is found in a copper-plate grant from Śrîperumbadûr (Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 83, note 4), which is now in the Madras Museum:—

मीकण्डसंगमनिवृत्तिमुवर्णसंघशीषाद्रिपर्वतविरिचिपुरेषु काञ्चाम् ।

श्रीकालहस्तिनगरदि च कुम्भघोषे दानानि घोटश बह्वनि कृतानि येन ॥

Here *Suvarṇasamgha* refers to the Golden Hall at Chidambaram; Viriñchipura is in the North Arcot district; the remaining localities are mentioned in verses 16 and 17 of the text.

⁵⁶ In the North Kanara district.

⁵⁷ Following a suggestion of Paṇḍit Lakshmanâchârya of Bangalore, I separate *paksha-chhidâ-udyattara-Kulîśadhara-utkañṭhitâ*. Indra's eagerness was frustrated, as the water poured out at the king's donations refilled the ocean, which the dust of his army had dried up, and thus saved the mountains from persecution.

⁵⁸ The above list of the sixteen kinds of gifts (*śoḍaśa dâṇâni*, verse 12 and note 55) agrees with that given in the *Matsyapûrâṇa*, as quoted in Dr. Aufrecht's *Catalogus Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ*, p. 43, and in Hemâdri's *Dânakhanda*, p. 166f. of the Calcutta edition.

(*Vv. 19 and 20.*) When, having ruled his great kingdom without obstacles, this Indra of the earth, who was famed for virtue, had gone to heaven, as if it were in order to rule heaven (*too*), the illustrious king Kṛishṇarāya, whose valour was irresistible, bore the earth on his arm like a bracelet of jewels.

(21.) It was probably through fear, lest everything should assume an identity of lustre from his fame, which was spread everywhere, that, of old, Śiva adopted a (*third*) eye on his forehead (*as a distinguishing mark*), Viṣṇu four arms, Brahman four faces, Kālī a sword, Rāmā a lotus, and Vāṇī a lute in her hand.

(22.) Was it through anger, because they gave refuge to his enemies, that he dried up the seven oceans with the clouds of the dust of the earth, which was split by the horses of his numerous armies, and of his own accord created in their stead masses of oceans by the immeasurable waters (*poured out*) at his great gifts, which consisted of a mundane egg, a Meru of gold, &c.?

(23.) It was probably in order to obstruct the path of the chariot of the sun in the sky, with the view that the crowds of suppliants should enjoy as long as possible the riches given by him, that this lord of the earth set up in every part of the earth firmly fixed pillars, which were marked with (*an account of*) his expeditions for conquering each quarter and with (*his*) surnames (*biruda*), and the tops of which touched the clouds.

(24.) Again and again, for the sake of supreme happiness, he performed according to rule those various gifts which are prescribed in the holy books, *viz.*, the weight of a man in gold, &c., together with all minor gifts, at Kāñchī, at Śrīśaila, at Śoṇāchala, at the Golden Hall, on Venkaṭādri⁶⁰ and at all other temples and bathing-places.

(25 to 27.) Some of his surnames (*biruda*) were :—The angry punisher of rival kings; he whose arms resemble (*the coils of the serpent*) Śeṣha; he who is versed in protecting the earth;⁶¹ the destroyer of those kings who break their word;⁶¹ he who satisfies suppliants; he who is fierce in war; the king of kings and the supreme lord of kings; the destroyer of the three kings (*of the South*);⁶² he who terrifies hostile kings; the *Sultān* among Hindū kings; he who crushes the wicked like tigers; and the double-headed eagle which splits the temples of troops of elephants!⁶³

(28.) He is served by the Aṅga, Vāṅga, Kaliṅga and other kings, who speak thus :—“Look (*upon me*), Oh great king! Be victorious! Live (*long*)!”

(29.) Seated on a jewelled throne at Vijayanagara, king Kṛishṇarāya, whose liberality was worthy to be praised by the learned, having surpassed Nṛiga and other kings in wisdom, and having bestowed abundant riches on all suppliants on earth, was resplendent with fame from the eastern mountain to the slopes of the mountain of the west and from the mountain of gold (*Meru*) to (*Rāma's*) Bridge.

He, who filled the world, as a box with camphor, with the flood of his fame, which arose from liberality, firmness, valour and other (*virtues*), that were being praised by the crowd of all poets in this world; who was fierce in battle; who surpassed the

⁶⁰ On these localities, see the notes on verse 16.

⁶¹ Compare अगतायुषीः in Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, s. v. *saumduḥ*.

⁶² This *biruda* is of frequent occurrence in Tamil inscriptions; see Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, vol. I, pp. 80, 104, 111, 120, 123, 131, 132 (note 7) and 139.

⁶³ *Viz.*, the Chera, Chola and Pāṇḍya; see *ibid.*, p. 111, note 3.

⁶⁴ With *Gajaughagandabheruṇḍa* compare the *biruda* *Rāyagajagandabheruṇḍa* on certain coins of Devarāya (*ibid.*, p. 162) and *Arībhagandabheruṇḍa* in a grant of Venkaṭa II. (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIII, p. 131, plate iv, line 10).

deeds of Nṛiga, Nala, Nahusha, Nābhāga, Dhundhumāra, Māndhātṛi, Bharata, Bhagīratha, Daśaratha, Rāma and other (*kings*); who protected Brāhmaṇas; who subdued *Sultāns*; who was (*like*) the fever to the elephants of the Gajapati (*king*); who knew many arts; whose face surpassed the lotus; who, (*like*) a second Bhoja, knew the mysteries of poetry, of the drama and of rhetoric; who knew the law; who, every year, performed a sacrifice to (*Kāma*) the lord of the golden festival of spring;⁶⁴ who fulfilled the desires of the crowd of Brāhmaṇas; who was rich; who was the chief of all princes; who was fortunate; who was the son of Nāgāmbikā⁶⁵ and of king Narasa; who delighted all hearts; who was victorious at the head of battles; who conquered (*all*) quarters; who, having ascended the throne at Vijayanagara, was ruling the whole earth; who won battles by (*the strength of*) his arm:—Kṛṣṇadeva-mahārāya gave a village, which was famed by the name of Siṅgenāyakanahaḷḷi and which was adorned with its four boundaries, for (*providing*) pleasant oblations (*naivedya*), (*consisting of*) sweet fruits, cakes, &c., to Śūlin (*Śiva*), called the holy Virūpāksha, to whom pious people have presented heaps of gold, who abides on the Hemakūṭa,⁶⁶ and who is diligent in protecting the world. The same (*king*), who assisted (*others*) with his wealth like (*Karṇa*) the son of the sun, and who was Kāma manifest in a human birth, built an assembly-hall (*raṅga-maṇḍapa*) (*for the use*) of the same god.

(*Verse 30.*) This is the edict of the heroic Kṛṣṇarāya, whose path on earth was praised by the beggars of the earth, and the gifts of whose hand surpassed (*those of*) the tree of Indra.⁶⁷

B. Kanarese portion.

Hail! On the 14th day of the bright half (*of the month*) of Māgha of the Śukla-samvatsara, which was current, after the 1430th year of the illustrious, victorious and prosperous Śālivāhana-Śaka had passed, the illustrious mahārājādhirāja and rājaparamēśvara, the illustrious Vīrapratāpa,⁶⁸ the illustrious Vīra-Kṛṣṇarāya-mahārāya, gave, at the auspicious time of the festival of his coronation (*paññābhishheka*), for (*providing*) daily oblations of food (*amṛita-paṇi-naivedya*), to the holy Virūpākshadeva (*the village of*) Siṅgināyakanahaḷḷi, caused to be built in front of the shrine a large assembly-hall (*raṅga-maṇḍapa*) and a *gopura* before it, caused to be repaired the great *gopura* in front of that, and gave to the holy Virūpākshadeva a golden lotus, set with the nine (*kinds of*) gems, and a snake ornament (*nāgābharaṇa*). For eating⁶⁹ the

⁶⁴ The expression *kanaka-vasanta-mahotsava* seems to refer to the custom, which is observed at the *Holi* or spring-festival, of throwing yellow or red powder and squirting coloured water at each other. Compare *Ratnāvalī*, act I, verses 2 and 3.

⁶⁵ In verse 13, this queen was called Nāgalā.

⁶⁶ This must have been the name of the rock, at the foot of which the Pampāpati temple is built. Compare Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Madras edition, vol. II, p. 259, and *Journal, Bombay Br. E. As. S.*, vol. XII, p. 375:—"The rampart that encompasses it (*viz.*, Vijayanagara) is Hemakūṭa; the most auspicious Tungabhadra is the moat that surrounds it; the guardian of it is visibly the god Śrī-Virūpākshadeva."

⁶⁷ The following explanation of the two difficult compounds, which are contained in this verse, was, for the most part, suggested to me by Paṇḍit Lākṣmaṇāchārya of Bangalore:—
अवन्ता ये वनीपका वाचकास्तेर्विभुतः क्षुती धरायामयी गमनं यस्य ।
बलशालिनस्तेन्द्रस्य तत्र कल्पवृक्षमतिशालानि करदानानि स्वस्तदानानि यस्य ॥

⁶⁸ This surname was borne by the kings of both the first and the second dynasties; see the Index of Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 182.

⁶⁹ *Ārōgaṇē māḍu*, 'to take a meal, to eat food' Sanderson's *Canarese Dictionary*.

oblations (*naivedya*), he gave to the god—1 golden vessel, 2 drums (*to be used*) during the ceremony of waving lamps, (*and*) 24 silver lamps.⁷⁰ Those who injure this meritorious gift (*dharmā*), shall incur the sin (*of those*) who have committed the slaughter of a cow, the murder of a Brāhmaṇa, and the other great crimes.

XLIII.—NEW JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURA.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The first eighteen among the following inscriptions form part of the most valuable discoveries,¹ made by Dr. A. Führer in the Kaṅkāli Tila at Mathurā during the working season of 1890, and I edit them according to the excellent impressions² which he has kindly forwarded to me. I add also the five cognate inscriptions found by Dr. Burgess and originally published in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. II, pp. 141ff., and vol. III, pp. 233ff., and five small unpublished fragments, found by Dr. Führer in 1889. All of them, whether bearing kings' names and dates or not, clearly belong to the Indo-Skythic period, or—if the era of Kanishka and his successors is identified with the Śāka era—to the first and second centuries A.D. This is evident from the type of their characters and of their language, which closely agrees with that of the documents found near the same place by Sir A. Cunningham, Mr. Growse, and Dr. Burgess. The general characteristics of the alphabet, its rather clumsy look, which is owing to its squat and square letters and to the thickness of the single strokes, and its otherwise strong resemblance to the writing in the inscriptions of the Śuṅga and Andhra periods, strike the most superficial observer. But it possesses another peculiarity, which consists in the occurrence of a number of cursive and modern-looking forms side by side with archaic ones, which, I think, deserves special mention, since it possesses considerable interest for Indian palæography. This peculiarity is particularly noticeable in the following ten signs. Among the vowels, the initial *a* looks mostly like that of the Andhra inscriptions; but sometimes it shows cursive forms. Thus in *aryya* (No. VIIc, l. 1) and in *asya* (Sir A. Cunningham's No. 8, l. 5)³ the left limb is represented by a wavy line, drawn by a single stroke, which is not even attached to the vertical on the right; again in *Aya-Balatrasya* (No. VB, l. 1), it consists of a curved stroke on the left which is connected with the right hand vertical by a short horizontal line: this form is very common in the *Kālsī* version of Aśoka's edicts, especially in the thirteenth and fourteenth. Further, the medial *ā* is expressed sometimes, as in Aśoka's edicts, by a short horizontal stroke, more frequently by a curve or by a straight line, rising upwards towards the right, and sometimes by an almost vertical downward stroke, resembling the form found in the inscriptions of the seventh and later centuries. All these

⁷⁰ *Ārati* or *Ar̥ti* is a *tadbhava* from the Sanskrit *Ār̥trika*, 'a lamp waved before an idol.'

¹ See my letter in the *Academy* of 19th April 1890, p. 270.

² The total of the inscriptions, forwarded to me by Dr. Führer, is twenty. One, a very small fragment, I am unable to make out. Another I omit, because it is the already known inscription of the reign of the son of Kshatrapa Rajubala, published by Sir A. Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. XX, p. 49, and plate v, No. 4. The new impressions give less than the earlier facsimile, and seem to indicate that the stone has suffered considerably during late years.

³ The collection referred to is that in Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. III, plates xiii—xv.

varieties occasionally occur in one and the same document; compare, *e. g.*, *nāgendrasya* (No. XVIII, l. 2), *māthurāṇam* (*ibid.*, l. 3), *śailālakāṇam* (l. 4) and *mātā°* (l. 6). The medial *i* has likewise three forms, one of which is a well-developed semicircle, while the second, a cursive one, looks very much like the medial *e*, and in the third the tail of the curve is drawn down at the back of the consonant just as in the Gupta *i*; all three forms occur in the word *divase* and in its abbreviation *di*. The initial *u* consists usually of an angle open to the right, as is invariably the case in the older inscriptions; but in *uchchenāgarasyā°* (No. XIII) it resembles a *da* with a well-developed nail-head at the top. The same inscription shows also in the word *Kumāranandī* a medial *u*, which exactly agrees with the modern Devanāgarī form. Less perfect examples in the same syllable occur in other inscriptions, while usually, except in *tu*⁴ and *gu*, where an upward curve on the right side of the consonant is used, the vowel is expressed simply by a straight stroke. The medial *ri* has again three forms, being expressed (1) by the curved line, turning to the left, which usually denotes the subscript *ra*,⁵ *e.g.*, in *gri* for *grīshma* (No. IVA, l. 1) and in *Śrīgrihāto* (No. IIIB, l. 2); (2) very frequently by a straight line, slanting sharply from the lower right extremity of the consonant towards the left, *e.g.*, in *gri* for *grīshma* (No. IIA, l. 1), and in *Aryya-Mātridinah* (No. IIIA, l. 3-4); (3) by the curve open to the right, which is constantly used in the Gupta and the later northern alphabets, *e.g.*, in *gri* for *grīshma* (No. XIII, l. 1).⁶ Among the consonants the forms of *ka*, *ksha*, *ṇa*, *ṇa* and *sa* deserve particular attention. *Ka* is usually expressed by a cross with a *serif* at the top, but occasionally it has the Gupta form with a curved line instead of a straight cross-bar and with a *serif* or a nail-head at the top; see, *e.g.*, *Kumāranandī* (No. XIII). The lower portion of *ksha* is mostly made square, but in *kshuṇe* (No. XIII) and in *bhikshusya* (Cunningham, No. 12) the left side is round. *Ṇa* is usually formed of two small curves at the top, springing from a short vertical stroke, the lower end of which stands on the middle of a curved base line or on the apex of an angle formed by two straight lines. Sometimes, however, we find archaic forms agreeing in part with the older ones of the Aśoka edicts and of the earlier Andhra inscriptions. Thus in some cases, *e.g.*, in *śramana°* (No. XVII, l. 1) and *torāṇam* (*ibid.*, l. 2), the base line is made perfectly straight, while, *e.g.*, in *vāraṇato* (No. XIB, l. 1), the ancient straight top line appears instead of the two curves. On the other hand, we meet also with a cursive form, a further development of the usual one, which somewhat resembles our letter *x* and evidently has been made with two strokes; see, *e.g.*, *gaṇato* (No. VIIA, l. 1) and *kshuṇe* (No. XIII). As regards the dental *ṇa*, it usually consists of a thick straight base line with a short vertical stroke above its centre which bears at the top a *serif*, or a nail-head. Sometimes also, as in the difficult word *hana-grisya* (No. IX, l. 1), *Hagināmdia* (*ibid.*, l. 2), the *serif* is wanting and the vertical stroke longer, so that the letter does not differ from the form used in Aśoka's edicts. The letter *sa*, finally, has nearly throughout the form used in the Andhra and other old inscriptions, but in No. V the left-hand limb is invariably converted into a loop, and the

⁴ The *tu* with the upward curve occurs also in the Aśoka edicts, especially in the Kāśī version, and has there been misread as *sa*.

⁵ This form has remained in many southern alphabets.

⁶ I have to add that in a former article, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. I, p. 176f., I have read erroneously *gra* instead of *gri*. The three forms in the new inscriptions leave no doubt that *gri* is intended. *Gri* is put for *gri*, which also occurs not unfrequently, *e.g.*, in Nos. XX and XXII, just as *priyasya* (No. XII, l. 1) stands for *priyasya*. Instead of *śrīgrihāto* I have given erroneously (*Wiener Zeitschrift*, vol. II, p. 239) *śrīgrihato*.

letter is almost exactly like the Gupta *sa*. The alphabet of these Indo-Skythic inscriptions may therefore be called a transitional one, which was modified through the influence of the current hand, used in every-day life, the latter being almost identical with the so-called Gupta characters. I may add that cursive forms are met with even among the numeral signs. Thus, in No. VIII, the left-hand limb of the figure 4, which usually is square, has been made round, and the cross-bar consists of a curved stroke. In the same inscription the figure, probably to be read as 40, looks exactly like a Roman V, as the whole lower portion of the two strokes, which has been preserved in the crosslike forms of the same sign on Sir A. Cunningham's Nos. 11, 12 and 13,⁷ has been omitted.

Some peculiarities in the spelling, the frequent use of single consonants for double ones, the use of short *i* and *u* for long *ī* and *ū*, and the occasional omission of the long *ā* (see, e.g., *hemantamase* (No. V), *maharajasya* and *masa* (No. IXA), agree with the usage prevailing partly in all, partly in some, versions of Aśoka's edicts and of other ancient inscriptions. They make it difficult to decide, whether some of the curious forms, to be discussed below, are due to negligence in spelling or to grammatical irregularities.

The language of these inscriptions shows the mixed dialect, consisting partly of Prakrit and partly of Sanskrit words and forms, as clearly as the formerly discovered documents. A fixed principle, according to which the mixture has been made, so far as I can see, is not discoverable. All one can say in this respect is that, in certain inflexions and words, the Sanskrit forms are more common than in others, and that in others the Prakrit or hybrid forms prevail. Thus the genitive termination *syā* is much more frequently found after *a* and *i* stems than the Prakrit *sa* which stands for *ssa*. Nevertheless the latter is not entirely wanting. It occurs four times in No. VI A, B, No. VII B, l. 2, and perhaps once in No. XIV B, l. 2. Pure Sanskrit are also the only two verbal forms which occur,—the imperatives *bhavatu* (No. XVIII, ll. 7, 8) and *prīyatām* (No. VIII, l. 2). The latter is so much the more remarkable, as in nearly all other cases the terminations in *ām* are either changed to *aṃ* or are otherwise mutilated. Thus we have in the genitive plural, with one exception—*sarvasatvānām* (No. XXI, l. 6), invariably *nam*, e.g., *śiśūninām* (No. IIC, l. 1), *arahaṃtānam* (No. XVI, l. 1), *māthurānam*, etc. (No. XVIII, l. 3 ff.). Similarly the Sanskrit locatives *asyām*, *etasyām* and *pūrvvāyām* remain each once or twice (No. IIIA, l. 1, No. VIIA, l. 1, No. VIII, l. 1) unchanged; in all other cases the hybrid or mutilated forms *asyam*, *asyā* or *asya* and *etasyam*, *etasyā*, *etasya* or *etasa* are used. In the nominative cases the Prakrit forms prevail. The nominative singular of the *a*-stems ends always in *o*, except in the one word *Mātridinaḥ* (No. IIIA, l. 4), which is a very curious hybrid form, the first part *mātri* being Sanskrit and the second Prakrit. The singular nominative of *i*-stems mostly loses the Visarga, e. g., in *Kumārabaṭṭi*⁸ (No. VII B, l. 2), but it is preserved in *Ṛishabhaśrīḥ* (No. VIII, l. 2). The same inscription furnishes also a solitary example of a Sanskrit

⁷ I omit Sir A. Cunningham's No. 8 from this enumeration, because I believe that its date is really *samvatsare* 70 (+) 4, not 40 (+) 4. The inscription belongs to the reign of Vāsudeva, whose other dates range from Samvat 80 (see No. XXIV) to 98, while Huvishka certainly ruled from Samvat 39 to 48. The oldest known form of the figure 70 consists of a vertical line, to which two short horizontal strokes are attached, one on the right and one on the left side. Made carelessly, this would readily become a cross, somewhat resembling the Roman X.

⁸ This may stand for **bhaṭṭi*.

nominative formed from a consonantal stem, *bhagavān*, while its genitive *bhagavato* (No. IIC, l. 2) and *arahanta*, the only other originally consonantal stem which occurs, show Prakrit forms. The nominative plural drops its Visarga as in Prakrit, as in *Sīhā* (No. IVA, l. 2). The other cases show either Prakrit or hybrid terminations. In the singular instrumental of the feminines in *ī*⁹ and *ā* the termination is *ye*, e.g., in *sukhitāye*, *kuṭumbiniye* (No. VI), and there is in the same inscription one Pali form, *dhītara* (i. e., *dhītarā*) for *duhitrā* (No. VIA).

The masculine *a*-stems added *ena*, as in No. XVII, l. 4, we have *śasurena*. The dative of the *ā*-stems takes *ye* in *arahantapūjāye*, and *ya* (as in Pali) in *mahābhogatāya* (No. VIII, l. 2). The difference is probably merely graphic, because *ya* is invariably pronounced *yē*, and the stress, which lies on the preceding *tā*, makes the quantity of the following syllable indistinct. In *hitasukhā* (No. XXI, l. 6) we have possibly a contracted form for *hitasukhāa*. The ablative of the masculine and neuter *a*-stems ends sometimes in *ā*, e.g., always in the word *nirvarttanā* (No. IIIA, l. 4), but more usually in *āto*, e.g., in *gaṇāto* (No. IA, l. 1) and *kulāto* (*ibid.*), which termination is a precursor of the Jaina Prakrit and Mahārāṣṭrī *āo* and of the Śauraseni *ādo* or *ādu*. With respect to the variants *gaṇato* (No. VB, l. 1) and *kulato* (*ibid.*) it is difficult to be positive. They may stand for Sanskrit *gaṇataḥ*, *kulataḥ* or, as the long *ā* is sometimes omitted, for *kulāto*. The feminine *ā* and *ī*-stems take *to* and the latter invariably shorten their vowel, as in *Uchenāgarito*¹⁰ *śākhāto* (No. IA, l. 2), and thus agree with those of the Jaina Prakrit, where we find *kaṇṇāto* and *devīto*. As regards the genitives not yet noticed, the feminines in *ā*, *ī* and *ū* form *āye* or *aye*, *īye* or *iye* and *ūye* or *uye*; compare, e. g., *Khuddāye* (No. IA, l. 2), *Saṅgamikāye* (No. IIC, l. 1), *Vasulāye* (No. IID, l. 1), *dharmapatniye* (No. IIIC, l. 1), *kuṭumbiniye* (No. VIII, l. 2), *vadhāye* (No. XIA, l. 3) and *vadhūye* (No. X). Three times, in *kuṭumbiniya* (No. VB, l. 2), *Saṅgamikāya* and *śiśiniya* (No. XII) we have the termination *ya*, which in my opinion was likewise pronounced *yē* or *ye*. The genitive of the representatives of Sanskrit *duhitri*, *dhītu* or *dhitu*, agrees with the Pali form, and so does *mātu* (No. IIC, l. 2). A remarkable mutilated Sanskrit form is *rājña* (Cunningham, No. 20, l. 2), and very peculiar is the genitive of the male name *Haginamdia* (No. IXB). The last sign is very distinct; else one would be tempted to conjecture *Hāginamdisya*. *Tasya* (No. VIIB, l. 2) must stand for *tasyāḥ*, as it refers to the feminine *Kumarami*[trā], compare *etasya* for *etasyām*. The locative of the masculines and neuters in *a* shows *e* as in Sanskrit and in most Prakrits; that of the feminine ends in *yām*, *yam*, *yā* or *ya*, e.g., *pūrvvāyām* (No. IA, l. 1), *pūrvvāya* (No. IVA, l. 1), *śākhāyā* (No. VIII, l. 1), *Haritamālakaḍhiya* (No. IXB). Sir A. Cunningham's Nos. 2, 3, 7, 11 show the Jaina Prakrit and Mahārāṣṭrī forms *pūrvvāye* or *pūrvvaye*. The two locatives of the pronoun *idaṁ*, *asmi* and *asma* (No. VA, l. 1, No. VI, No. XIII, and No. XXV), are corruptions of Sanskrit *asmin*. The few pure Sanskrit forms have been noted above. In the plural, which also does duty for the dual, none but Pali, Jaina Prakrit or hybrid forms occur. The nominatives have already been mentioned. Instances of the instrumental are *mātāpitihi* (No. XVII, l. 3) and *putrehi Nandibala-pramukhehi dārakehi* (No. XVIII, ll. 5-6). Among the genitives, the Jaina Prakrit form *Aryya-Veriyāna* (No. VIII, l. 1), among the hybrid forms *teshaṁ* (No. XVIII, l. 5) and *mātāpitriṇaṁ* (*ibid.* l. 6) deserve to be mentioned in addition to the Pali forms

⁹ Mostly spelt *ī*.

¹⁰ The short *i* may be merely graphic.

enumerated above. With respect to the use of the cases it must be noted that the nominative not rarely takes the place of the crude form, and that the crude form occasionally takes the place of an inflected form. Instances of the former kind are found in [grā]miko Jayanāgasya (No. XI B, l. 3), śiśho Sadhisya (No. V B, l. 1), śraddhacharo vāchakasya Aryyadatasya (No. IV A, l. 2); further in gaṇisya Aryya-Buddhiśirisya śiśho vāchako Aryya-Sandhikasya (No. XIX, l. 2),¹¹ °Hastahastisya śiśhyo gaṇisya Aryya-Māghahastisya śraddhacharo vāchakasya Aryya-Devasya (No. XXI, ll. 4-6). Two perfectly certain instances of the second irregularity occur in brihamta (?) vāchaka cha gaṇina cha Ja..mitrasya (No. IV A, l. 1) and Vādharma . . vadhā Haggudevasya dharmmapatniye Mittrāye (IV B, l. 1). The omission of the case terminations in words which qualify others standing in the same case is common, as Professor von Roth has shown,¹² in the *Rigveda*. It occurs also not rarely in Pāṇini's *Sūtras*, is very frequent in the Northern Buddhist works, and is a fixed principle in the modern Indian vernaculars as well in other languages. The use of the nominative instead of the crude form is not known to me from other Indian dialects than that of the Northern Buddhists; but in Zend it is not uncommon. A third syntactical anomaly in our inscriptions is the violation of the rules of concord, in phrases like vāchako Aryya-Sihā (No. IV A, l. 2), gaṇina cha Ja..mitrasya (ibid., l. 1), śiśhinam Aryya-Saṅgamikaye (No. II C, l. 1), arahamtānam Vadhāmānasya (No. XVI, l. 1), where a noun in the plural has to be construed with another in the singular. The explanation is, of course, that the plural is a *pluralis majestatis*, and that the terms quoted must be taken in the sense of the "great" or "venerable" gaṇin, "the great or venerable female pupil" and "the venerable arhat".

With respect to the words, especially the nominal bases, it must be admitted that the pure Sanskrit forms are mostly as numerous as, and in some documents much more numerous than, the Prakrit and hybrid formations. Thus in No. XVIII, there are only three words, stāna for sthāna, pratishtāpita for pratisthāpita, and perhaps chāndakā for chāndrakā showing the influence of the Prakrit, though the great majority of the terminations are Prakritic. Again, in No. I, we find among fifteen completely readable words nine pure Sanskrit bases, three Prakrit formations, sethi for śreshthi, dhitu for duhituḥ, and Koṭṭiya, and three hybrids, Bahmadāsika for Brahmādāsika, Uchenāgarī for Uchch-airnāgarī and sahachari-Khudā for sahacharī-Kshudrā. It is only in a few documents like Nos. XII, XIV, and XVI that Prakrit and hybrid forms prevail. Irrespective of the numerical question, it is worthy of note that certain words are always given in their Sanskrit form and some invariably in Prakrit. To the former class belong mahārāja, deva, putra, śākhā, dharmapatnī, sahacharī, pratimā; to the latter arahanta for arhat, the representatives of duhituḥ, dhitu and dhītu, and those of the name Vajrī or Vajrā, Vērī (No. II B, l. 3), Vairā (No. VII B, l. 1), Veriya (No. VIII, l. 1), Vairā (No. XXI, l. 3). In all the other words, which occur more frequently, there are vacillations, sometimes in one and the same document.

The great interest, which the development of the Prakrits possesses for the history of Indian literature, would make it desirable to determine exactly the character of the vernacular of Central India used in the first and second centuries A.D., which influenced

¹¹ When I wrote my article in the *Wiener Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde des Morg.*, vol. II, p. 145, I was not aware that this anomaly occurred frequently, and hence proposed to correct the text.

¹² *Abhandlungen des VIIten Int. Or. Congresses, Arioche Section*, pp. 1ff.

the language of these documents. Unfortunately the number of the inscriptions is still so small that it is impossible to obtain in this respect perfectly certain results. Nevertheless I will state that from the materials accessible to me, I consider it to have been in some points more similar to the Jaina Prakrit and the Mahârâshtrî than to the Pali and to the language of Aśoka's edicts and of the older Andhra inscriptions. Words like the representatives just enumerated of *Vajrî* and *Vajrâ*, like *Koṭṭiya* for *Koṭṭika*, *Brahmadâsiya* for *Brahmadâsika*, *Śiriya* for *Śirika*, *lohavāṇiya* for *lohavāṇija*, and *Haganamdi* for *Bhaganandi*, seem to indicate that the destruction of the medial and initial consonants had begun, and it is quite possible that among the numerous counter-instances some, at least, may be due to the desire of the authors to make their language sound like Sanskrit, i.e., that they may be attempts at a retranslation of more advanced Prakrit forms into Sanskrit. Thus the two forms *Bahmadâsika* and *Brahmadâsiya* lead me to suspect that the real popular form was *Bamhadâsiya* or even *Bambhadâsiya*, which was retransliterated into Sanskrit in two different ways, both times with indifferent success. In two points this Prakrit probably differed from nearly all the literary Prakrits, agreeing at the same time with the modern vernaculars. First, it probably possessed, like the latter, only two sibilants, *sa* and *śa*, which were, as is done in the present day, frequently interchanged. The inscriptions have, it is true, the three signs used in Sanskrit, and their use remains unchanged in pure Sanskrit words. Even the lingual *sha* keeps its place in such words and in the hybrid forms with *shka* and *shṭa*, e.g., in *Kaṇishka*, *Huvishka*, *pratishṭāpita*, *Goshṭha*..., *Jeshṭhastin*, *viśṭūyamāna*, *śishya*. But, when regular Prakrit forms are substituted for, or derived from, the Sanskrit words, the lingual *sha* almost disappears. The palatal *śa*, on the contrary, mostly remains and even extends its sphere; here and there *sa* appears in its stead. Thus we find in the Prakrit equivalent for *śishya*, once *śisha* (No. VB, l. 1), once *śīśa* (No. XIVB, l. 1), and twice *śīsa* (No. IX, l. 2, and Cunningham's No. 10, l. 1, *śasasya*, according to the facsimile). The Prakrit feminine of *śishya* is spelt once *śishini* (No. VIB, l. 2) and six times *śīśini* or *śīṣini* (No. IIC, l. 1; No. VII B, l. 1; No. XIA, l. 2; No. XII, l. 2; No. XIVB, l. 1). Further, *śvaśura* becomes *śaśura* (No. XVII, l. 4); *śrī* is invariably *śiri* in the names *Śirika* or *Śiriya* and *Buddhaśiri* (No. XIX, l. 2); *Pushyamitrīya* is changed to *Puśyamitrīya* (No. VI, l. 2). The dental *sa* is put instead of *śa* in *sethi* (No. IA, l. 2), *suchila* (No. IIIB, l. 3), and in *saśrū* for *śvaśrū* (No. XVII, l. 4). Hence I regard the occurrence of *sha* in Prakrit words as merely graphic, and assume that *sa* and *śa* were the only two sibilants of the Prakrit vernacular, but were occasionally used the one for the other. That is just what is done in all the vernaculars of Northern, Western, and Central India, which from Kaśmīr down to the Marāṭhā country possess only the dental and the palatal sibilants and exchange them very frequently, especially in their true popular varieties. The second point, in which the Prakrit of our inscriptions agreed with the modern vernaculars, not with the literary Prakrits, is the neglect of the aspiration of conjunct hard aspirates. We have *stāne* for *sthāne* (No. XVIII, l. 2), *pratishṭāpito* for *pratishṭhāpito* (No. XVIII, l. 4), *Jeshṭhastisya* (No. XIVB, l. 1, twice) for *Jyeshṭhastisya*, *sarttavāhīniye* (Cunningham, No. 7, l. 2) for *sārṭthavāhīnyāḥ*, *śreshṭaputrena* and *śreshṭinā* (Cunningham, No. 9, l. 3) for *śreshṭhiputrena* and *śreshṭhinā*. It is just in these very groups that, according to the popular pronunciation of the vernaculars of Northern, Western, and Central India (with the exception of the Marāṭhī), the aspiration is omitted, though in writing it is frequently expressed. The numerous Sanskrit words, like *kanishṭha*, *pra-*

tishthā, *pratishthita*, used in all the vernaculars, are in Kaśmīr, the Panjāb, Rājputanā, Gujarāt, Mālvā and the portions of the North-Western Provinces known to me, invariably pronounced *kaniṣṭ*, *pratiṣṭā* and *pratiṣṭit*, and one hears *stāna* quite as often as *sthāna*. It is only the learned Paṇḍit who will at least try to sound the *ṭha* or *tha*. Hundreds, nay thousands, of mistakes in Sanskrit inscriptions and manuscripts show that this neglect of the aspiration, especially in the group *shṭha*, is not of recent date. The examples in our inscriptions are sufficiently numerous to warrant at least the inference that in the first and second centuries of our era the omission of the aspiration did occur, and perhaps was optional.

As regards the origin of this mixed dialect, as well as of all other mixed dialects, I agree with Professor Kern, *Jaartelling*, p. 108 ff., and Dr. R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 146, that it is the result of the efforts of half-educated people to express themselves in Sanskrit, of which they possessed an insufficient knowledge and which they were not in the habit of using largely. All the Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā were no doubt composed by the monks who acted as the spiritual directors of the laymen, or by their pupils. Though no inscription has been found in which the author is named, the above inference is warranted by the fact that numerous later documents of the same character contain the names of Yatis who are said to have composed them or to have written them. The Yatis in the first and second centuries, no doubt, just as now, for their sermons and the exposition of their scriptures, used the vernacular of the day, and their scriptures were certainly written in Prakrit. It was a matter of course that their attempts to write in Sanskrit were not very successful. This theory receives the strongest support from the fact that the character and the number of the corruptions varies almost in every document, and from various single sentences, such as *vāchakasya aryya-Baladinasya śishyo aryya-Mātridinaḥ tasya nirvarttanā*, which latter reads exactly like a piece from a stupid schoolboy's exercise. It is also confirmed by numerous analogies, such as the language of the *janmapatras* of the badly educated Joshīs mentioned by Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar, the books of masons and carpenters, which give the rules for building houses in most barbarous Sanskrit, and many modern inscriptions, composed by clerks or Yatis. A large number of specimens of the latter kind are contained in the collection of votive inscriptions from Pālitaṇā lately copied by Mr. H. Cousens. I give a short one, which shows a mixture of Sanskrit, Gujarātī and Mārvāḍī:—

संवत् १८६० ना^{१३} वैशाख सुदि ५ चंद्रवारे^{१४} श्रीविजय आणंदसुरिगच्छे^{१५} श्रीविजयदैवचंद्रसूरिराज्ये
श्रीसूरिबिंदिरे^{१६} वास्तव्य श्री उस्वालज्ञातीय भवेरी^{१७} प्रेमचंद भवेरचंद^{१८} भार्या जोयती^{१९} तस्य पुत्र
वाइचंदेन श्रीविजयहरा पार्श्वनाथ नविन प्रशाद^{२०} नवीन बिंब भरापितं^{२१} । माताजी भकुभाई तस्य पुत्र
रत्नचंद भा^{२२} मलुकचंद भा^{२३} अमिचंद भां प्रेमचंदनामिन बिंब भरापितं । तपागच्छे । विजयजिनेद्रसूरि
प्रतिष्ठितं^{२४}

^{१३} This is the Gujarātī genitive.

^{१४} A pure Sanskrit form and inflexion; compare below *tasya*.

^{१५} *Gachchhai*, which recurs below, is the Mārvāḍī spelling for *gachchhite*, which is both Gujarātī and Sanskrit. Similarly we have in the next compound *Daivachandra* for *Devachandra*. The pronunciation is in all three cases *e*, not *ai*.

^{१६} *Sūritabimdire* is the Mārvāḍī form for *Sūratābandare*.

^{१७} Formed from the Arabic.

^{१८} A common hybrid form composed of an Arabic and a Prakrit word.

^{१९} Usually spelt *jōitī*, from Sanskrit *dyotantī*.

^{२०} Pronounce *parshād*, a common Mārvāḍī and Hindi corruption of *prāsāda*.

^{२१} A hybrid form, representing Gujarātī *bharāvayum*, which occurs in several other inscriptions.

^{२२} An abbreviation of *bhāī*, brother.

^{२३} The form with *ṭa* is invariably used in these inscriptions.

^{२४} A few words giving the name of the author of this precious document are illegible.

TRANSLATION.

"On the fifth lunar day (*of*) the bright half (*of*) Vaiśākha of the year 1860, on a Monday, during the reign of glorious and victorious Devachandra Sûri, in the *gachchha* of glorious and victorious Ânanda Sûri, dwelling in the famous harbour of Sûrat, (*was*) the jeweller Premchand Jhaverchand, (*his*) wife (*was*) Joyatî; (*by*) his son Vâichand was erected a new image (*in the*) new temple (*of*) Vijjaharâ (Vidyâdhara?) Pârsvanâth.²⁵ The image was erected in the name of Premchand, brother of Ratnachand (*and*) Malukchand, son of Mâtâjî (?) Jhakubhâ; consecrated by Vijaya Jinendrasûri in the Tapâgachcha."

The contents of the older inscriptions Nos. XIX—XXIII have been discussed in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. II, pp. 141ff., and vol. III, pp. 233 ff. Among the new ones Nos. I—XVII belong to the Jainas, who possessed, as Dr. Führer has discovered this year, two magnificent temples on the site where the Kankâlî Tîla rises at present. Their historical value is very great. First, No. I, which is dated in the year 5 of Devaputra Kanishka, proves beyond all doubt that Sir A. Cunningham was right in referring the date of his No. 2, *Sam.* 5, to the reign of the first Indo-Skythic king. Secondly, they confirm the correctness of the readings Sthâniya or Thâniya *kula* and Vâraṇa *gana*, instead of which the *Kalpasûtra* gives Vâṇijja and Châraṇa, and they allow us to correct the name of the Śrîguha *sambhoga* to Śrîgrîha. Thirdly, they furnish seven well-preserved names of *kulas* and *sâkhās*, and in addition a mutilated one, hitherto not traced in epigraphical documents, which help to vindicate the much-assailed Jaina tradition.

Three of the new *kulas*, the Puśyamitriya (No. VI), the Arya-Cheṭiya (No. IX), and Âryya-Haṭikiya (No. XI), belong to the Vâraṇa *gana*, and evidently correspond with the Pûsamitijja (in Sanskrit Pushyamitriya), the Ajja-Chedaya (in Sanskrit Ârya-Cheṭaka) and the Hâlijja (in Sanskrit Hâlîya) *kulas*, which in the list of the *Kalpasûtra* (p. 80, ed. Jacobi) occupy the third, fourth, and sixth places. To the same *gana* belong the Vajanâgarî (No. XI) and the Haritamâlakaḍhî (No. X) *sâkhās*. The name of the former agrees fully with that of the Vajjanâgarî *sâkhâ*, the fourth in the list of the *Kalpasûtra* (*loc. cit.*).²⁶ The Sanskrit equivalent of the word is, I think, not Vajranâgarî, as the commentators of the *Kalpasûtra* assert, but Vârjanâgarî, *i. e.*, the *sakhâ* of Vrijinagara, the capital of the Vrijî country. For *Vajranâgarî* would have become *Vairanâgarî*. On the other hand it is highly probable that the Jainas were settled in the Vajjabhumi, where Vardhamâna is said to have done penance.²⁷ The second, the Haritamâlakaḍhî *sâkhâ* is no doubt identical with the Hâriyamâlâgârî, which the *Kalpasûtra* names as the first of the branches of the Châraṇa *gana*. The form of the inscription gives a good sense if the end of the compound *kaḍhî* is taken to stand for *gaḍhî*, as may be done according to the analogy of *sambhoka* which (No. VII B, l. 1) occurs instead of *sambhoga*.²⁸ With this supposition it means "the *sâkhâ* of the fort called Haritamâla," *i. e.*, the field or site of

²⁵ This might also mean "a new temple of Pâravanâtha (and) a new image."

²⁶ Regarding the single *ja*, see above, p. 373.

²⁷ *Âchârâṅgasûtra*, *Sac. Bks. East*, p. 84. The note explains the name, in accordance with Śīlânka's commentary, as an equivalent of *Vajrabhûmi*. But its Sanskrit etymon is *Vârjabhûmi*. The *Vrijis*, in Pali *Vajji* and in Aśoka's edict XIII, *Vaji* and *Varji*, were settled close to the *Sukmas* (*Subbha*) and to *Râḍhâ*.

²⁸ Occasional substitutions of hard consonants for soft ones are found also in Aśoka's edicts, in the literary Pali, and in other Prakrit dialects.

Harita. The form of the *Kalpasūtra* would mean “the *śākhā* of the house (*āgāra*) called *Hāritamāla*”. This is hardly possible, and as *gaḍhī* is pronounced *garhī*, it seems probable that *Hāriyamālāgārī* is slightly corrupt and has to be changed to *Hāriyamālagaḍhī*. The mistakes, which the inscriptions have shown to occur in other names of the *Kalpasūtra*, certainly encourage one to hazard this slight alteration.

Two of the new names refer to the *Koṭṭiya gaṇa*. The *Brahmadāsika kula* (Nos. I, IV, V, XIV)²⁹ may be identified with the *Bambhalijja kula* of the *Kalpasūtra* (p. 82, Jacobi). The latter name corresponds not to Sanskrit *Brahmaliptaka*, as the commentators assert, but to *Brahmalīya*, and this is derived from *Brahmala*, which according to the Indian custom of abbreviating compound names, may stand for *Brahmadāsa*. Similarly, *Devaka*, *Devala* or *Devilā* may be used for *Devadatta*, *Devagupta*, *Devapālita*, *Devarakshita*, *Devabhūti* or *Devāśarman*.³⁰

The *Uchenāgarī* or *Uchchenāgarī śākhā* of the same inscriptions is of course the *Uchchānāgarī śākhā* of the *Kalpasūtra* (*loc. cit.*) which stands first in the list of the branches of the *Koṭṭiya gaṇa*. The difference in the second vowel has been caused by the existence of two synonymous Sanskrit forms of the etymon, *Uchchainagara* and *Uchchānagara*,³¹ which both mean “the high town”.

This geographical name seems to be identical, as Dr. Burgess suggests to me, with that of the fort of *Unchānagar*, which belongs to the modern town of *Bulandshahr* in the North-Western Provinces (see Sir A. Cunningham’s *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. XIV, p. 147). The old name of *Bulandshahr* itself was *Varana* or *Barana*. This is no doubt the place after which the *Vārana gaṇa* was named.

The mutilated name . . hika *kula* (No. II) and . . . ka *kula* (No. XII) must, I think, have been [Me]hika. For there is in the *Sthavirāvalī* of the *Kalpasūtra* only one name, *Mehiya* (Jacobi, p. 81), which shows a penultimate *hi*. If this conjecture is accepted, the new inscriptions furnish also proof of the actual existence of the second *kula* of the *Vesavāḍīya gaṇa*. For the restoration of the mutilated name of the . ārina *saṃbhoga*, which appears in No. XIV A, l. 2, I cannot offer any proposal. As the letters are not perfectly distinct, it is just possible that *Śirikāto saṃbhogāto* may be the original reading.

With respect to the *Koṭṭiya*—*Koṭika gaṇa*, it is now evident that its adherents must have been more numerous in *Mathurā* than those of the other schools. In our inscriptions it occurs eight times, in Sir A. Cunningham’s collection four times, and in Dr. Führer’s collection of 1889 certainly once, perhaps twice. It deserves to be noted that it is the only *gaṇa* whose name survived in the fourteenth century A. D.³² Its great age, as well as the great age of its ramifications, the *Brahmadāsika* family, the *Uchchenāgarī* branch and the *Śrīgriha* district community, is attested by our No. IV. The latest possible date of this inscription is *Samvat 50* or A. D. 128-9. The preacher then living, the venerable *Sīha*, enumerates four spiritual ancestors, the first among whom must have flourished about the beginning of our era. The *gaṇa* was, as

²⁹ The name occurs, too, in Sir A. Cunningham’s No. 2, where on the second (*recte* first) side, l. 2, [ku]lāto *Brahmadāsikāto Uchenākarito* [*śākhāto*], ought to be restored.

³⁰ Compare *ante*, p. 225, *Sīgaka* for *Sīnhabhaṭa*, and *ante*, p. 272, *Viśvala* for *Viśvamalla*.

³¹ Compare the Sanskrit names *Uchchaiḥśravas* and *Uchchāmānu*.

³² See *Wiener Zeitschrift f. d. K. d. Morg.*, vol. I, p. 176, note 1.

we learn, much divided at that early period, and this fact speaks in favour of the statement of the tradition which places its origin about the year 250 B.C.³³

The fourth point, which lends to these new inscriptions a very great importance, is their mentioning several female ascetics, and their showing that these persons developed a very considerable activity. There can be no doubt that Aryya-Saṅgamikā and Aryya-Vasulā, who are mentioned in Nos. II and XII, Graha . i (No. V.), Aryya-Kumāramitā (No. VII), Balavarmā, Nandā and Akakā (?) (No. XI), as well as Aryya-Śāmā (No. XIV) and Dhāmāthā (?) (No. XXVI), were nuns. That follows from their title *Aryya*, 'the venerable,' from their being called *śiśini* or *śiśini*, "female disciples," from their having other female disciples, and from the statement that the gifts were made at, or by their *nirvartana*, their request or advice.³⁴ With the certainty thus gained, it is not difficult to recognise that some of the documents found in former years likewise name nuns or point to the existence of female ascetics among the Jainas of Mathurā. Though No. XIX is mutilated, the 'sister' of Aryya-Sandhika, Aryya-Jayā, who appears among the male ascetics, must now be considered a nun. Again, it becomes very probable that the expression *chaturvarṇa saṃgha*,³⁵ "the community including four classes," which strongly reminds one of the later Śvetāmbara term *chaturvidha saṃgha*, means, like the latter, the community consisting of monks, nuns, lay-brothers and lay-sisters.³⁶

With respect to one of the nuns our inscriptions contain statements which require explanation. The venerable Kumāramitrā in No. V, who was the female pupil of the venerable Baladina, had, it appears, a son Kumārabhaṭi, whom she induced to dedicate an image of Vardhamāna. It would be a mistake to infer from this admission that the nuns of the first and second centuries led immoral lives. The correct explanation will be that Kumāramitrā was a widow who turned nun after the decease of her husband, and that she afterwards acted as spiritual director to her son. It is worthy of note that this is the only case where a nun appears as adviser of a layman. In all the other inscriptions we find that the nuns exhorted female lay members of the Saṃgha to make donations. It agrees with this that in modern times too, the order of Jaina nuns mostly consists of widows, especially of virgin widows, who, according to the custom of most castes, cannot be remarried, and are got rid of in a convenient manner by being made to take the tonsure; see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIII, p. 278.

The last of the new inscriptions, Dr. Führer explains, is on a slab found near the brick *stūpa* adjoining the two Jaina temples; but he adds that it was lying loose on the pavement of the court, and that it may have belonged originally to some other temple. It records the consecration of a stone slab, *stāne*, i. e., either "on the site sacred to" or "in the temple of," the divine lord of Nāgas, Dadhikarṇa. The worship of the Nāgas or snake-deities is of great antiquity in India. It forms part of the ancient ritual of the Brāhmaṇs, who offered and still offer the *sarpabali*³⁷ in the rainy season, when the snakes

³³ See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XI, p. 246.

³⁴ In further elucidation of the meaning of the term *nirvartana*, I can now add, that many of the dedications, mentioned in the Pālitānā inscriptions, are said to have been made *upadeśāt*, by the advice, of monks.

³⁵ Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. XX, plate v, No. 6, l. 3; *Wiener Zeitschrift*, vol. I, p. 172f.

³⁶ It is a characteristic Jaina doctrine that the Śrāvakas and Śrāvikās form part of the *saṃgha*. On this point the Jainas differ very markedly from the Buddhists.

³⁷ This is prescribed in all the *Grihasūtras*: see, e. g., *Āśvalāyana Gri. Sū.* II, 1 14.

are driven out of their holes and often take refuge in the houses. In the Paurāṇic worship we find the *Nāga-pañcamī*, the snake-festival on the fifth lunar day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, which is still very popular and celebrated very generally.³⁸ There exist also a few Nāga temples. In Gujarāt the most famous is the so-called Nāg of Dehemā, which lies in the north-west-corner of the province, close to the Raṇ of Kachchh. I visited Dehemā in 1873 and found there a temple, consisting of a small dome about five feet high, with an opening towards the east. Inside there was a stone slab showing in the centre the relievo of a large cobra standing upright on its tail, and on both sides some smaller ones in the same position. A short inscription stated that the image was erected in Vikrama Samvat 1212, or A.D. 1156-58. The stone slab at Mathurā, of which our inscription speaks, probably bore a similar representation. As regards Dadhikarṇa, his name occurs in the *Harivaṃśa*,³⁹ where he is invoked in the *āhnikā mantra*, the daily prayer which is said to have been recited originally by Baladeva and after him by Kṛishṇa. It thus appears that the worship of Dadhikarṇa certainly formed part of the *Bhāgavata* ritual and was practised at Mathurā in early times. These facts may indicate that our No. XVIII is not a Buddhist, but a Bhāgavata inscription. But it is quite possible that the Buddhists in whose legends the Nāgas play a great part, and on whose Stūpas they are often represented as worshippers of the Bo-tree, may have taken over the worship of Dadhikarṇa from the Brāhmanas. Finally, another very interesting point in this inscription is the statement that the dedicators of the stone were the “sons of those *śailālakas* who were famous as the Chāndaka brothers.” It is impossible to interpret *śailālaka* otherwise than as a synonym of *śailālin*, which, according to Pāṇini, IV, 3, 110, originally was a name of those actors who studied the *Sūtras* of Śilālin, and according to the *Koshas* was used later to denote any actor. Our inscription, therefore, teaches us that Mathurā had its actors in the first or second century of our era, and makes us actually acquainted with the name of such a troupe. It further shows that play-acting was then, as in the present day, the business of particular families — a fact which may also be inferred from the introduction to several Sanskrit dramas where the *naṭī* is sometimes called the wife of the *sūtradhāra*, and his brothers are mentioned as actors. In a Jaina story of the clever boy Bharata, we hear even of a *naṭagrāma*, a whole village inhabited by actors.

No. I.⁴⁰

- A. 1. — — “दे[व]पुत्रस्य क[नि]ष्कस्य सं ५ हे १ दि १ एतस्य पूर्व[र]यं कोट्टियातो गणातो बह्म-
दासिका[तो]
2. [कु]लातो [उ]चेनागरितो शाखातो सेयि—ह — स्व—ि—ि—सेनस्य सच्चरिखुडाये दे[व]—
B. 1. पालस्य धि[त].— — —
2. वधमानस्य प्रति[मा] ॥

³⁸ See Rāo Sāheb V. N. Mandlik's article in the *Jour. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. XI, pp. 169ff., where many interesting local customs are mentioned.

³⁹ *Harivaṃśa*, I, 168, 17, where the Calcutta edition has the misprint *ndgarāḍadhi-karnasya*; see also Langlois' French translation, tome I, p. 507, where the prayer forms the 118th Adhyāya.

⁴⁰ Incised on the pedestal of a small squatted figure of a Jina,—the stone measuring 2 feet 1 inch by 1 foot 7 inches, and found in the west of the Kāṅkālī-Tīla at the second Jaina temple. The bracketted letters are more or less defaced but if nothing is stated to the contrary, I consider the reading nevertheless to be certain.

⁴¹ Restore *siddham*

TRANSLATION.

[Success!] In the year 5 of *Devaputra* Kanishka, in the first (*month of*) winter, on the first day,—on that (*date specified as*) above,—an image of Vadhamāna (*Vardhamāna*) (*was dedicated*) by Khudā (*Kshudrā*), consort of alderman (*sethi*) sena (*and*) daughter of Deva . . pāla, out of the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa*, the Bamhadāsika *kula*, the 'Uchenāgarī śākhā'.

No. II.⁴²

- A. 1. — —⁴³ सं १० ५ ग ३ दि १ अस्या पूर्व[र]य
 B. 1. — दिकातो⁴⁴ कुलातो अर्थजयभूति-
 C. 1. स्य शिशोनिनं अर्थसङ्गमिकये शिशोनि—⁴⁵
 D. 1. अर्थवसुलये [निर्वर्त्त]नं
 A. 2. — — लस्य धी[तु] — — — धु⁴⁶ वेणि-
 B. 2. — "अष्टि[स्य] धर्मपत्निये भट्टि[से]नस्य
 C. 2. [मातु] कुमरमितयो⁴⁸ दनं भगवतो [प्र]—
 D. 2. मा⁴⁹ सव्वतोभद्रिका [॥]

TRANSLATION.

[Success!] In the year 15, in the third month of summer, on the first day,—on that (*date specified as*) above,—a fourfold⁵⁰ image of the Divine one, the gift of Kumaramitā (*Kumāramitrā*), daughter of . . la, daughter-in-law of . . . , first wife of alderman (*śreṣṭhin*) Veṇi, mother of Bhaṭṭisena, (*was dedicated at*) the request of the venerable Vasulā, the female pupil of [the venerable Saṅgamikā, the female pupil of the venerable Jayabhūti out of the [Mehika] *kula*.

No. III.⁵¹

- A. 1. सिद्धम् । सं १० ८ व ४ दि १० अस्यां पु-
 2. र्वायं वाचकस्य अर्थबल-
 3. दिनस्य शिथो [वाच]को अर्थमा-
 4. तृदिनः तस्य [नि]र्वर्त्त[न]ः

⁴² Incised on the four faces of the pedestal of a small quadruple image of standing naked Jinas;—the stone, 2 feet high by 9 inches square, was found in the west of the Kaikālī Tila, at the second Jaina temple.

⁴³ The beginning of line 2 proves the existence of a lacuna; probably सिद्धम् to be restored.

⁴⁴ Restore दिकातो, as proposed above.

⁴⁵ Restore शिशोनिनं.

⁴⁶ Restore धु.

⁴⁷ Probably वेणिस्य अष्टिस्य to be restored.

⁴⁸ Read कुमरमितये.

⁴⁹ Restore प्रतिमा.

⁵⁰ *Sarvatobhadrikā pratimā*,—literally 'an image lovely on all sides,' is apparently a technical term for a 'fourfold' image, one being carved on each side of a four-faced column. Compare the use of *sarvatobhadra devdlaya*, which, according to Varāhamihira's *Bṛihat-Saṃh.*, LVI, 27, means 'a temple with four doors and many spires,' i.e., such a one which looks equally pleasing from all sides.

⁵¹ Incised on the pedestal of a four-faced image (*chaturmukha*) consisting of four naked standing Jinas. Stone 2 feet 8 inches by 1 foot 2 inches, found at the same place.

- B. 1. [कोट्टियातो गणातो ठानियातो]
 2. [कुलातो श्रीगृहातो संभोगातो]
 3. [अर्यवेरिशाखातो सु]चि-⁵²
 C. [ल]स्य धर्म्यपन्निये ले — — —
 D. दानं भगवतो स[न्ति] — — [प्र]तिमा
 A. 5. नाश — — — — तनं⁵³
 B. 4. — । [न]मो अरत्ततानं सर्व्वलोकुत्त[मानं]⁵⁴

TRANSLATION.

Success! In the year 19, in the fourth (*month of*) the rainy season, on the tenth day,—on that (*date specified as*) above,—the pupil of the preacher, the venerable Baladina (*Baladatta*) (*is*) the preacher, the venerable Mâtridina (*Mâtridatta*); at his request (*was dedicated*) an image of divine Santi⁵⁵ . . . , the gift of Le . . . , first wife of Suchila (*Suchila*), out of the Koṭṭiya gāṇa, the Thāṇiya kula, the Śrīgriha sambhogā, the Aryya-Veri (*Ārya-Vajrī*) śākhā Adoration to the Arhats, the highest ones in the whole world!

No. IV.⁵⁶

A. 1. [सिद्धं सं २० गृ ३]⁵⁷ दि [१०] ७ [एत]स्य पूर्वाय कोट्टिय[र]तो गणातो ब्रह्मदासियातो कुलातो उच्च[े]नागरितो शा[खा]तो [श्री]गृह[र]तो संभोगातो [बृहंतव]चक⁵⁸ च गणिन च ज[—मित्र]स्य — —⁵⁹

2. अर्य[श्री]वस्य शिष्यगणिस्य [अ]र्यपालस्य अ[हच]रो [वाच]कस्य अर्य[दत्त]स्य⁶⁰ शिष्यो वाचको . अर्यसीहा [त]स्य निव्वर्त्तणा [खो]दमि[त्त]स्य⁶¹ मानिकरस्य [गी]—जयभ[ट्टि]⁶² धीतु दा — स्य

B. 1. [लो]हवाणिस्य⁶³ वाधर — — वधू [ह]गु[देव]स्य धर्म्यपन्निये मिच्छाये [दानं] — — — [सर्व्व]स[त्त्वानं] हि[तसु]खाये काक[तिय] — — — — च —

2. — वाज — — — — ि — — — — २ — — — — — — — — — — रज — — — — — — ।

⁵² The letters of the first three lines of B are much blurred and partly indistinct; but none are really doubtful except सु. One or two letters may have been lost at the end of B 3.

⁵³ A 5 is separated by some ornaments from the other four lines. Five letters seem to have been lost.

⁵⁴ B 4 is separated from the other three lines by two rows of ornaments. Read अरहंमानं.

⁵⁵ If the much disfigured second syllable is *nti*, as I read it doubtfully, it appears certain that the Tirthamkara mentioned must be Śāntinātha.

⁵⁶ Incised on the pedestal of a large naked standing Jina, 7 feet 2 inches by 2 feet 3 inches, found at the same place. Very badly preserved.

⁵⁷ The figures are doubtful. The first may have been 50.

⁵⁸ First three syllables doubtful.

⁵⁹ °मित्र° doubtful; restore शिष्य.

⁶⁰ The first letter might be read अ, and only the upper part of the second sign has been preserved. But in Mr. Growse's No. 8, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 218, we have plainly वाचकदत्तशिष्यस्य सीहस्य.

⁶¹ First letter very doubtful; the third and fourth syllables are possibly वीग्ग or मिग्ग.

⁶² गी may have been श्री; the last two syllables of the name are doubtful.

⁶³ The second syllable is doubtful.

TRANSLATION.

Success! In the year 20 (?), in the third (?) month of summer, on the seventeenth (?) day,—on that (*date specified as*) above,—the preacher, the venerable Sîha⁶⁴ (*Simha*) (*was*) the pupil of the preacher, the venerable Datta, (*who was*) the *Śraddhachara*⁶⁵ of the *gaṇin*, the venerable Pâla, (*who was*) the pupil of the venerable Ogha (?), (*who was*) the pupil of the great (?) preacher and *gaṇin*⁶⁶ Ja . . mitra (?) out of the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa*, the Brahmadaśiya *kula*, the Uchchenâgarî *śākhā* (*and*) the Śrīgriha *sambhoga*,—at his request (*was dedicated*) for the welfare and happiness of all beings . . . , the gift of Mittrâ, the first wife of Haggudeva (*Phalgudeva*), the daughter-in-law of the iron-monger Vâdhara . . . , the daughter of . . . Jayabhaṭṭi, the *mānikara*, of Khoṭṭamitta

No. V.⁶⁷

- A. 1. सवत्सरे⁶⁸ पचविशे हेमंतम[से] त्रितिये दिवसे वीशे अस्मि⁶⁹ क्षुणे
 B. 1. कोट्टियतो गणतो ब्र[ह्म]दासिकतो कुलतो उचेनागरिती शाखातो अयबलव्रतस्य शिषो सद्धि-
 2. स्य शिषिनि ग्रह्णि— — — निवतन⁷⁰ [ना]दिग्र[रि]त⁷¹ जभ[क]स्य वधु जय[भ]इस्य
 कुटूब्बिनीय रयगिनिये [वु]सुय⁷²[॥]

TRANSLATION.

In the twenty-fifth year, in the third month of winter, on the twentieth day, at this moment (?),⁷³ a *vusuya* (?),⁷⁴ (*was dedicated*) by Rayagini, the daughter-in-law of Jabhaka, from Nāndigiri (?), (*and*) wife of Jayabhaṭṭa, the request (*having been made*) by Graha.i..., the female pupil of Sadhi, pupil of the venerable Balatrata (*Balatrāta*) out of the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa*, the Brahmadaśika *kula* (*and*) the Uchenâgarî *śākhā*.

⁶⁴ The plural *Sîhā* is a *pluralis majestatis*, and hence the attributes *śiṣyo* and *vāchako* have been put *ad sensum* in the singular number.

⁶⁵ Compare below, No. XXI.

⁶⁶ Regarding the construction see above, p. 375.

⁶⁷ Incised on the pedestal—left side and back—of a small statue (destroyed); stone 1 foot 11 inches by 9 inches, found at the same place.

⁶⁸ The letter ञ stands below the line. Possibly अस्मि may have been at the beginning of the inscription. Both impressions show a long horizontal stroke and that on thick paper some indistinct letters.

⁶⁹ The lower part of the second syllable has on the right a superfluous stroke, which makes it look like a hybrid of ञ and य.

⁷⁰ Restore निवतन.

⁷¹ This may perhaps have been नादिगिरिती.

⁷² The first syllable is not certain.

⁷³ The phrase *asmi* or *asma kṣhane* occurs four times—here and in Nos. VI, XIII and XXV—in the place of *etasyaṃ* or *asyaṃ pūrvāyaṃ*. It also occurs once in a second collection to be published hereafter, and twice we have the corresponding *īse* or *īsa chhunami* in Kharoṣṭrī inscriptions from the Pañjāb; see Sir A. Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. V, Pl. xvi, Nos. 1 and 2, and *Jour. Asiatique*, 8me série, vol. XV, Pl. i, No. 3. It must, of course, have the same or a similar meaning. The first word is without doubt the equivalent of Sanskrit *asmin*; the second I take to represent Sanskrit *kṣhane*, though there is no other instance in which the first vowel of this word becomes *u*; *asmin kṣhane* might mean either "at this moment" or "on the occasion of this festival."

⁷⁴ *Vusuya* (?) probably denotes either some kind of image or some kind of gift.

No. VI.⁷⁵

- A. महाराज — — — ष्कस सं २० ८ हे २ दि ३० अस्स सुणे भगवतो वर्धमानस प्रति[मा]⁷⁶
प्रतिष्ठापिता ग्रहह[य]स्व⁷⁷ धितर सुखिताये बोधिनदि[ये]⁷⁸
- B. कुटुंबिनिये वारणे गणे पुश्यमित्रीये कुले गणिस अर्य[दतस्य शिष्यस्य]⁷⁹ गह[प्र]कि[व]स⁸⁰
निर्वर्त[ना] अर[ह]तपुजाये ।

TRANSLATION.

In the year 29 of the great king . . shka, in the second month of winter, on the thirtieth day,—at this moment (?),⁸¹ an image of the divine Vardhamāna was set up by order of Bodhinadi (*Bodhinandi* ?), a married-lady, the cherished daughter of Graha-hathi (*Grahaastin*),⁸² at the request of Gahaprakiva (?),⁸³ pupil of the venerable Data, a *gaṇin* in the Vāraṇa *gaṇa* and the Puśyamitriya (*Pushyamitriya*) *kula*, in honour of the Arhat.

No. VII.⁸⁴

- A. 1. [सिद्ध]⁸⁵ सं ३० [५]⁸⁶ व ३ दि १० अस्स[i] पूर्वायां कोट्टियातो गणतो [स्थानि]या-
[तो कु — —⁸⁷
- B. 1. वहरातो श[र]ख[र]तो शिरिकातो सं[भो]कातो अर्यबलदिनस्य शिशिनि कुमारमि[त]⁸⁸
2. तस्य पुत्रो कुमारमि[त] गंधिको तस — नं⁸⁹ प्रतिमा वर्धमानस्य सशितमखित[वो]धित⁹⁰
- C. 1. अ[र्य]⁹¹
2. कुमार-
3. मित्रा-
4. ये—
- D. 1. व्व
2. [त]न⁹²[र]

⁷⁵ Incised on the base of a large statue (lost); stone 3 feet 6 inches long by 9 inches high; found at the same temple.

⁷⁶ The last syllable and the vowel of the preceding are completely gone.

⁷⁷ The top of the letter च is gone, and the reading may have been चहहयिस्, as the analogy of numerous other names requires.

⁷⁸ The last syllable is nearly gone.

⁷⁹ The lower parts of the bracketted syllables are gone.

⁸⁰ The third syllable looks, on the obverse of two impressions and on the reverse of one, more like a damaged क. But the reverse of the second impression shows pretty clearly म. The fifth syllable is damaged and not certain.

⁸¹ See above, No. V.

⁸² Compare the names *Hastahasti*, *Māghahasti*, *Jyeshṭhahasti*, etc., below.

⁸³ I do not dare to propose any transliteration for this name.

⁸⁴ Incised (A, B) on pedestal and (C, D) on sides of a small seated Jina, 2 feet 6 inches by 1 foot 6 inches; found at the same place. An enormous sign, looking like *gā*, stands between the second and third signs of शिशिनि and between the fourth and fifth signs of वर्धमानस्य, B. 1 and 2.

⁸⁵ Faintly visible on one impression only.

⁸⁶ The figure is somewhat damaged, but certain.

⁸⁷ Restore कुजादी.

⁸⁸ Restore कुमारमित्रा.

⁸⁹ Restore दानं.

⁹⁰ The third syllable of सशित is not quite distinct.

⁹¹ Possibly अर्य; the left-hand limb of अ is not joined to the vertical stroke.

⁹² Restore निर्व्वसं.

TRANSLATION.

Success! In the year 35, in the third (*month of the*) rainy season, on the tenth day,—on that (*date specified as*) above;—the female pupil of the venerable Baladina (Baladatta) out of the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa*, the Sthāniya *kula*, the Vairā śākhā (*and*) the Śirika sambhoka (*sambhoga*), (*was*) Kumaramitrā (*Kumāramitrā*);—her son (*was*) the dealer in perfumes, Kumārabhaṭi;—his gift (*is*) an image of Vardhamāna (*dedicated at*) the request of the whetted,⁹³ polished and awakened venerable Kumāramitrā.

No. VIII.⁹⁴

A. सिद्धम् म[हा]रा[ज]स्य र[ाजा]तिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य हुवष्कस्य मं

४० (६०?) हेमन्तमासे ४ दि १० एतस्यां पूर्व्यायां कोट्टिये गणे स्थानिकीये कुले अय्य[वेरि]-

याण शाखाया⁹⁵ वाचकस्यार्थवृद्धहस्ति[स्य]

B. शिष्यस्य गणिस्य आर्य्यख[र्ष]स्य⁹⁶ पुत्र्यम[न]⁹⁷ — — — — — [स्य] — —

[व]तकस्य⁹⁸ [क]— सकस्य⁹⁹ कुटुम्बिनीये दत्ताये — नधर्मी¹⁰⁰ महाभोगताय प्रीयताम्यग-

वानृषभश्रीः¹ ।

TRANSLATION.

Success! In the year 40 (60?) of the great king (*and*) supreme king of kings, Devaputra Huvashka,² in the fourth month of winter, on the tenth day,—on that (*date specified as*) above, (*this*) meritorious gift (*was made*) for the sake of great happiness by Dattā, the wife of Ka . pasaka, an inhabitant of . . vata, [*at the request*] of *ganin*, the venerable Kharṇṇa, pupil of the preacher, the venerable Vṛiddhahasti out of the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa*, the Sthānikiya *kula* (*and*) the śākhā of the Aryya-Veriyas (*the followers of Ārya-Vajra*). May the divine (*and*) glorious Rishabha be pleased!³

⁹³ I take *sasita* to stand for *samsita*, the past participle of *śi*, and *makhita* to be a half Prakritic form for *mraṣhita*. These two participles, which I have translated above according to their literal meaning, must no doubt be understood in a figurative sense. They probably refer to the sharpening and polishing of the understanding and of the character by study and penances.

⁹⁴ Incised on the pedestal of a large figure which has been destroyed; pedestal 2 feet 6 inches long by 9 inches high; found at the same temple.

⁹⁵ The central stroke of 𑀭𑀸 is wanting.

⁹⁶ Possibly अर्य्यवेर्षस्य; the lower part of the fourth sign is blurred.

⁹⁷ Possibly अर्य्यमन; the tops of the third and fourth signs have been lost.

⁹⁸ Remnants of two signs are visible before the mutilated व. The first had a subscript *ra* and the second the vowel *u*.

⁹⁹ Before the slightly mutilated *sa* stood a compound sign, the lower part of which is very distinctly *pa*.

¹⁰⁰ Restore दानधर्मी.

¹ This is the reading of the reverse; according to the obverse one might read °वर्षभ.

² I do not correct this name, because I am doubtful whether the omission of the vowel *i* in the second syllable is due to a clerical mistake, or to the pronunciation. In the genitive, *Huvashkasya*, the stress falls on the third syllable, and the vowel of the immediately preceding one becomes very indistinct.

³ It would appear from this wish that the statue was one of the first Tirthankara, Rishabha or Vrishabha.

No. IX.⁴

॥ सु० नम शर[स]तममहरजस्य⁵ हुविक्षस्य सव[त्स]रि ४० ४ इनग्य[स्य]⁶ मस ३ दिविस २ ए[त]-

B. [स्य] पुर्वय[रि]⁷ — — — गणे अर्यचेटिये⁸ कुले हरीतमालकटिय[श]ख — — — — — तचक
[स्य]⁹ हगिनदिष¹⁰ शिसो ग — — — नागसेणस्य नि — — —

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Adoration! In the year 44 of the most illustrious(?) great king Huviksha,¹¹ in the third month of summer, on the second day. On that [date specified as] above, at the request of the (venerable) Nāgaseṇa, the pupil of Haginaṇḍi (Bhaganandi?), a preacher (vāchaka) in the [Vārāṇa] gāṇa, in the Aryya-Cheṭiya (Ārya-Cheṭika) kula, in the Haritamālakadhī (Haritamālagadhī) śākhā

No. X.¹²

L. 1. सिद्धम् सं ४० ५ व [३] दि १० [७]¹³ एतस्य पुर्व[रि]य — — — — — ये
बुद्धिस्य¹⁴ वधुये धर्मवृद्धिस्य—

TRANSLATION.

Success! In the year 45, in the third (?) (month of) the rainy season, on the seventeenth (?) day,—on the (date specified as) above by the daughter-in-law¹⁵ of Buddhi, the . . . of Dharmavṛiddhi

No. XI.¹⁶

A. 1. — — — ४०¹⁷ — हे — दि १०

B. 1. ए [त]स्य पूर्व[रि]य वरणतो ग[ण]-

C. 1. तो आर्यहटिकियतो कुलतो

D. 1. वजनगरित[रि] श[र]ख[र]त[रि] शि[रि]यत[रि]

⁴ Incised on the *śikhāṣana* or pedestal of a large seated Jina (head lost),—3 feet 5 inches by 2 feet 10 inches; found at the same place. In the plates of facsimiles No. xxxii is a duplicate, to a larger scale and from a different impression, of the second line of this inscription.

⁵ The first sign might also be read चा. The second is very distinct, but not a complete letter, as it consists of a semi-circle, open to the left, with a horizontal stroke in the middle. I am inclined to believe that the whole is intended for खसि नमो शिरिमत्तममहारजस्य.—

⁶ The figure 4 has no cross-bar in the vertical stroke. मस्य probably stands for यौष्मस्य. I cannot explain इन. In No. XXIV we have हव व १.

⁷ Restore एतस्यां पूर्वायां वरणे, the latter according to No. XI.

⁸ The right side of the last letter is slightly damaged.

⁹ Restore आद्यायां; वाचकस्य looks here like वाचकी, but the reading is certain in the facsimile marked No. 32.

¹⁰ Possibly हगि^० or हेग^०; at the end one would expect नंदिस्य. Compare the facsimile No. 32.

¹¹ The form *Huviksha* may be due either to a negligent mode of spelling or to a faulty pronunciation.

¹² Incised on the pedestal of a small squatted Jina (head lost), 2 feet 7 inches by 2 feet 2 inches; from the same place.

¹³ The signs of the date are blurred, but with the exception of the bracketted ones not doubtful.

¹⁴ Some indistinct signs are visible before येबुद्धिस्य.

¹⁵ Regarding the meaning of *Vadhu*, daughter-in-law, compare Nos. II, IV, V.

¹⁶ Incised on the four faces (A, B, C, D) of the pedestal of a quadruple image consisting of four erect naked standing Jinas, placed back to back as usual; stone 2 feet 8 inches by 1 foot, found in the same locality. Preservation apparently not good.

¹⁷ Restore सिद्धं च. A second figure seems to have stood after the plain च.

- A. 2. — — [ग]तो¹⁸ [द]तिस्¹⁹ शिशिनिये
 B. 2. महन[न्दि]स्²⁰ सदचरिये
 C. 2. बल[वर्म]ये²¹ [नन्द]ये²² च शिशिनिये
 D. 2. अ[कक]ये²³ [निर्व्वर्त्तना] — —
 A. 3. — [स्य] धीतु ग्रमि[क]जयदेवस्²⁴ वधूये
 B. 3. — मिको जयनागस् धर्मपन्निये सिहदता[ये]
 C. 3. — [लघंभ]ो²⁵ दनं = —

TRANSLATION.

[Success! In the year] 40, in the . . month of winter, on the tenth (?) day,—on that (*date specified as*) above,—a stone-pillar (*was dedicated, being*) the gift of Sihādatā (*Simhadattā*), the first wife of the village headman²⁶ Jayanāga, the daughter-in-law of the village headman Jayadeva (*and*) daughter of at the request of Akakā (?), the female pupil of Nandā (?), and of Balavarmā (?), the *saḍhachari*²⁷ of Mahanandi (*Mahānandin*) (*and*) female pupil of Dati (Dantin) out of the Vāraṇa gāṇa, the Āryya-Haṭikiya (*Ārya-Haṭikīya*) *kula*, the Vajanagari (*Vārjanāgarī*) *śākhā* (*and*) the Śiriya *sambhoga*.

No. XII.²⁸

- L. 1. सं ८० ६ हे १ दि १० २ दसस् धितु प्रयस् कुटुबिनिये — — — —²⁹
 2. — — [क]तो³⁰ कुलतो अयस[ङ्ग]मि[क]य शिशिनिय अयवसुल[ये] नि[व]तने [॥]

TRANSLATION.

In the year 86, in the first (*month of*) winter, on the 12th day [*was dedicated the gift*] of, daughter of Dasa (*Dāsa*), wife of Pṛiya (*Priya*), at the request of the venerable Vasulā, pupil of the venerable Saṅgamikā, out of the [Mehi] *ka kula*.

No. XIII.³¹

[सं ८० ७ १] ग १ दि [२० १] अ[स्मि] क्षुणे उच्चेनागरस्थार्यकुमारनन्दिशितस् मित्रस्

¹⁸ Restore संभीगती.

¹⁹ Possibly दतिस्.

²⁰ The tops and lower ends of the signs are not distinct.

²¹ The third and fourth signs are not certain.

²² Only the second न् is certain.

²³ The bracketted letters seem plain on one impression, but possibly the reading is *Sukarmaye*.

²⁴ Possibly ग्रामिकी जय.

²⁵ The last two consonants are only half formed. Restore शिशायंभी.

²⁶ Regarding the meaning of *grāmika* see the *Petersburg Dictionary*, *sub voce*.

²⁷ As *saḍha* is in Jaina-Prakrit the usual representative of *śrāddha*, the term *saḍhachari* corresponds to *śrāddhachari*, and is the fem. of *śrāddhacharo*; see Nos. IV and XXI.

²⁸ Incised on the pedestal of a small seated Jina (head lost), 1 foot 8 inches by 1 foot 2 inches; found at the same place. Four worshippers on each side of a wheel fill up the centre.

²⁹ The lost signs probably contained, besides the name of the donatrix, the word दानं.

³⁰ Only two letters can have been lost before the half visible क्. From No. II, where the names of *Saṅgamikā* and of *Vasulā* occur, it may be inferred that the *kula* name probably was *Mehika*.

³¹ Incised on the pedestal of a small squatted Jina (head lost); 1 foot 11 inches by 1 foot 10 inches; from the same place.

MATHURA INSCRIPTIONS: Nos. I & II.

No 1



Scale : 1-3rd.

No 2

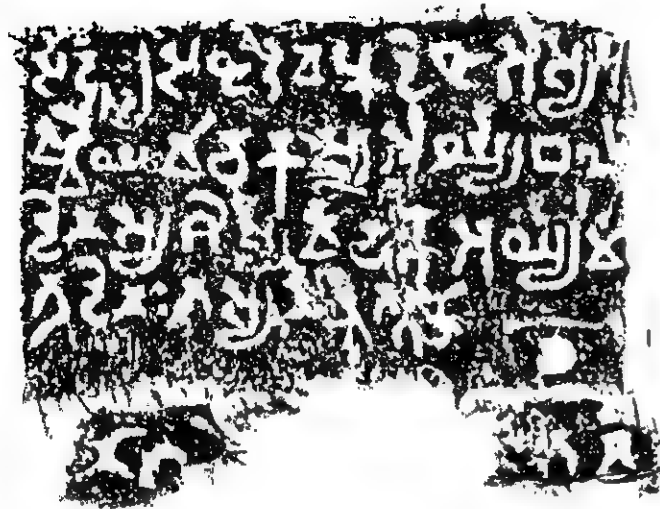


Scale: one-half.

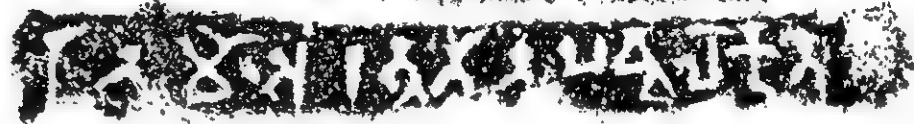
From impressions by Dr A Führer

MATHURA INSCRIPTIONS: Nos. III & IV.

No.3



B

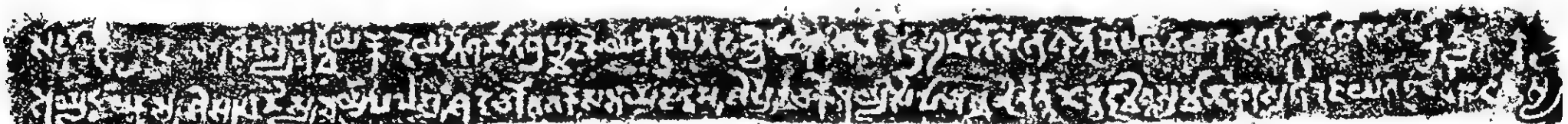


Scale: one-half.

D



No. 4



Scale: 2-5ths.

MATHURA INSCRIPTIONS: Nos. V-VIII.

No. 5

A 

B 

Scale: 1-4th.

No. 6

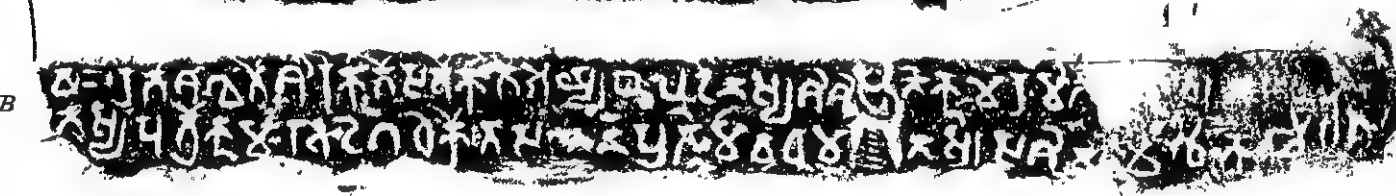
A 

B 

Scale: 1-3rd.

No. 7

A 

B 

C  D 

Scale: 1-3rd.

No. 8

A 

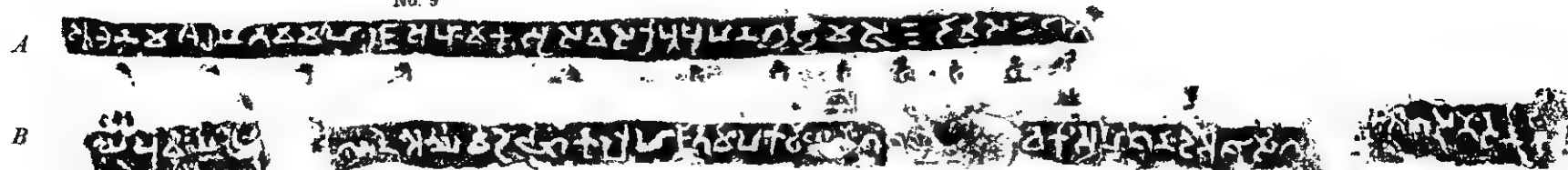
B 

Scale: 1-3rd.

From impressions by Dr A. Führer

MATHURA INSCRIPTIONS: Nos. IX-XI.

No. 9



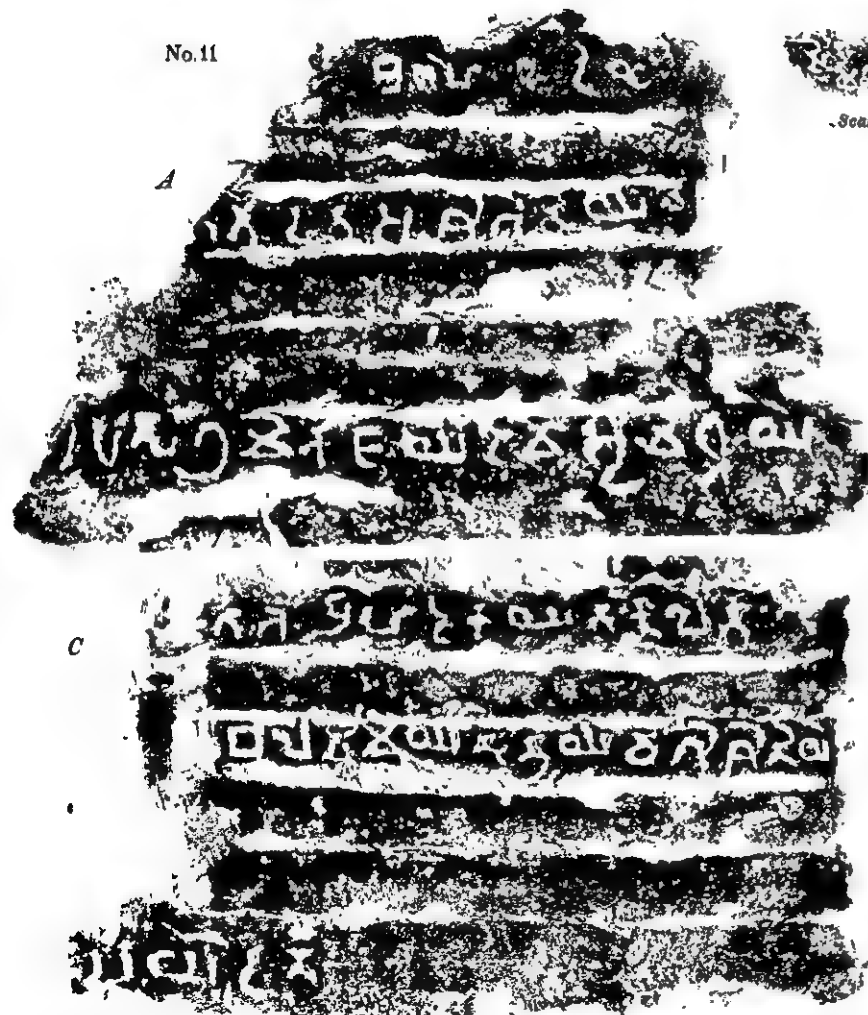
Scale: 1-4th.

No. 10



Scale: 1-4th.

No. 11



Scale: one-half.



TRANSLATION.

In the year 87 (?), in the first month of summer, on the twentieth (?) day,—at this moment (?),³² of Mittra, pupil of the venerable Kumâranandi, of him of Uchehenagara³³

No. XIV.³⁴

A. 1. सिद्धम् ॥³⁵कोट्टियातो गणातो ब्रह्मदासिकात[रे] कुलातो

2. उ[च्चै]नागरितो शाखातो —रिनातो सं[भ]रे[गातो] अ[र्य्य]-

B. 1. जेष्टहस्ति[स्य] शि[ष्यो]³⁶ अर्य्यमहलो³⁷ अर्य्यजेष्ट[हस्तिस्] [शिष्यो]³⁸ अर्य्य[गा]दक[रे] ³⁹ [त]स्य
शिशिनि [अर्य्य-]

2. शामये निर्वतना। उ[स] — प्रतिमा⁴⁰ वर्मये धीतु [गुल्हा]ये जयदासस्य कुटुंबिनिये दानं

TRANSLATION.

Success! The pupil of the venerable Jeshtahasti (*Jyeshthahastin*) out of the Kottiya gāṇa, the Brahmadaśika kula, the Uchchenāgarī śākhā and the -ārīna sambhoga (*was*) the venerable Mahala; the pupil of the venerable Jeshtahasti (*Jyeshthahastin*) (*was*) the venerable Gādhaka; at the request of his female pupil, the venerable Śāmā, (*was dedicated*) an image of Usabha (*Rishabha*), the gift of Gulhā, the daughter of Varmā (*and*) the wife of Jayadāsa.

No. XV.⁴¹

— शे⁴² एत[स्यां] पूर्वायां कोट्टियातो गणातो

TRANSLATION.

..... On that (*date, specified as*) above, out of the Kottiya gāṇa

No. XVI.⁴³

L. 1. अरहंतान⁴⁴ वधमानस्य [क]लस्य⁴⁵ धितु⁴⁶ सिनविषुस्य भ[स्मि]न[र]य⁴⁷

2. [श]ति]स्य र[ि]नव]र्तनं [॥]

³² Regarding चुणे, see above, No. V, note 73, p. 375.

³³ Compare the उचेनागरी शाखा, and see above, p. 369.

³⁴ Incised on the pedestal of a small seated Jina, 2 feet 6 inches by 1 foot 7 inches; from the same place.

³⁵ The stops are throughout expressed by horizontal strokes.

³⁶ The second syllable is much injured and its vowel not certain.

³⁷ Possibly, but not probably महुदी. The last three syllables of the following word are uncertain, with the exception of शो.

³⁸ The consonant of the first syllable and the vowel of the second are doubtful.

³⁹ The first syllable may also be read differently.

⁴⁰ Restore उदभप्रतिमा.

⁴¹ Incised on the broken base, under the left knee of what has been a seated Jina; stone 1 foot 5 inches by 1 foot 3 inches; found at the same place.

⁴² This must be the remnant either of विष्टे or of विष्टे.

⁴³ Incised on the pedestal of a small seated Jina; 2 feet 7 inches by 1 foot 6 inches; same locality.

⁴⁴ A very indistinct letter, possibly मा, is visible at the beginning of the line. Hence I propose to restore [प्रतिमा]. The lost portion of the inscription no doubt stood on the other side of the pedestal.

⁴⁵ The vowel of the first letter is doubtful, as the top of the sign is damaged.

⁴⁶ The u-stroke seems to be connected with the left-hand limb of ta.

⁴⁷ The second sign is very doubtful; I suppose भगिनीय is meant.

TRANSLATION.

..... [an image] of the worshipful⁴⁸ *Arhat* *Vadhamāna*, [the gift] of
the daughter of Kala, the sister(?) of *Sinavishu* (*Vishnushena* ?); the request of
. *Śati* (?).

No. XVII.⁴⁹

- L. 1. — मा अहंतानं⁵⁰ अमण्याविका[ये]⁵¹
2. — लहस्तिनीये तोरणं प्रति[ष्ठापि]⁵²
3. सह माता पितृहि सह⁵³
4. सन्धु —⁵⁴ शशुरेण⁵⁵

TRANSLATION.

Adoration to the Arhats! A *Torana* has been erected by order of . . *lahastinī* (*Balahastinī*), a lay-pupil of the ascetics, together with her parents, together with her mother-in-law (and) her father-in-law.⁵⁶

No. XVIII.⁵⁷

- L. 1. सिद्धं [सं] — — — [दि] ५⁵⁸ एतस्य पू[र्व्वयं]
2. भगवतो नागिन्द्रस्य दधिकर्णस्य स्त[ुति]-
3. ने शिलापट्टो प्रतिष्ठापितो माथुरा[णं]
4. शैलालकानं चान्दका भृतृका इति वि[ष्टू-]
5. यमानानं तेषां पुत्रेहि नन्दिबलप्र-
6. मुखेहि दारकेहि मातापितृणं अग्र-
7. प्रत्यशताये भवतु सर्व्वसत्त्वा[नं हित-]
8. सुखा[र्थं] भवतु [॥]

TRANSLATION.

* Success! In the year....., on the fifth day,—on that (*date specified as*) above, a stone slab was set up in the place sacred⁵⁹ to the divine lord of snakes *Dadhikarṇa* by the boys, chief among whom was *Nandibala*, the sons of the actors⁶⁰ of *Mathurā*, who are being praised as the *Chândaka* brothers. May (*the merit of this gift*) be by preference⁶¹ for their parents; may it be for the welfare and happiness of all beings!

⁴⁸ "Worshipful" is expressed by the *pluralis majestatis arahantānam* construed with the singular *Vadhamānasa*.

⁴⁹ Incised on the upper portion of a sculptured *Torana*, 9 feet 2 inches by 1 foot.

⁵⁰ Read नमी अहंतान.

⁵¹ The last letter is blurred.

⁵² Read प्रतिष्ठापितं. Possibly more letters have been lost at the ends of lines 1 and 2.

⁵³ Lines 4 and 5 stand between three figures of *Toranas*.

⁵⁴ Possibly the reading is सन्धु, i. e., सन्धु.

⁵⁵ I. e., शशुरेण.

⁵⁶ The association of the parents and of the parents-in-law is probably intended to secure for them a share of the scriptural merit. Compare the analogous phrases in the Kanheri inscriptions Nos. 14, 15, 16, 17 (*Archæological Surv. Rep. IV. Ind.*, vol. V, page 79ff.) and in other Buddhist documents.

⁵⁷ Incised on a large sandstone slab, 3 feet 10 inches by 1 foot 4 inches, found on the floor of a brick stūpa, 47 feet in diameter, to the east of the first Jaina temple, on the east of the Tīla. Well preserved, with the exception of the loss of the date and of slight injuries at the right end of the lines, which, however, do not make any letter really doubtful.

⁵⁸ Not more than four signs have been lost; the tail only of दि is visible. After the half-preserved सं appear the lower portions of two numeral signs.

⁵⁹ *Śāṇa*, which stands for Sanskrit *sthāna*, may also mean "temple."

⁶⁰ I take *śailāṭaka* as an equivalent of the Sanskrit *śailāṭin*; see above, p. 381.

⁶¹ Regarding the meaning of *agrāpratyakṣatāye*, i. e., *agrāpratyakṣatāye*, see above, p. 241, note 21.

No. XIX.⁶²

- L. 1. [सिद्धम् ॥]महाराजस्य राजातिरास्य देवपुत्रस्य पाहिकणिष्कस्य⁶³ सं ७ हे १ दि १० ५ एतस्य
पूर्वायां अर्थोदेहिकियातो
2. गणातो अर्थनागभुतिकियातो कुलातो गणिस्य अर्थबुद्धशिरस्य शिष्यो वाचको अर्थस[न्धि]-
कस्य भगिनि अर्थजया अर्थगोष्ठ — — —

TRANSLATION.

Success! In the year 7 of the great king, supreme king of kings, the son of the gods, Shâhi Kanishka, in the first (*month of*) winter, on the fifteenth day,—on the (*lunar day specified*) above, the preacher Aryya[sandh]ika, the pupil of the *ganin* Aryya-Buddhasiri (*Ārya-Buddhasīrī*) of the Aryyodehikiya (*Ārya-Uddehikīya*) school (*and*) of the Aryya-Nāgabhutikiya (*Ārya-Nāgabhūṭikīya*) line of teachers, his sister Aryya-Jayā (*Ārya-Jayā*), Aryya-Goshṭha

No. XX.⁶⁴

[सि]द्धं सं २० (?) [२] गि २ दि ७ वर्धमानस्य प्रतिमा वारणातो गणातो पेटिवामि[क]—

TRANSLATION.

Success! In the year 22 (?), in the second (*month of*) summer, on the seventh day,—a statue of Vardhamāna, from the Vārāṇa *gaṇa*, from the Petivāmik[a *kula*]. . . .

No. XXI.⁶⁵

- L. 1. — धम् सव ५० ४⁶⁶ हेमंतमासे चतुर्थे ४ दिवसे १० अ-
2. स्य पूर्वायां कीट्टियातो [ग]णातो स्थानि[य]ातो कुलातो
3. वैरातो शाखातो श्रीगृह[र]तो⁶⁷ संभोगातो वाचकस्यार्थ-
4. [ह]स्तहस्तिस्य शिष्यो गणिस्य अर्थमाघहस्तिस्य अर्द्धचरो⁶⁸ वाचकस्य अ-
5. र्थदेवस्य निर्वर्त्तने गोवस्य सीहपुत्रस्य लोहिककारुकस्य दानं
6. सर्वसत्वानां हितसुखा एकसरस्वती प्रतीष्ठाविता अवतले रङ्गान[र्त्तन]ी
7. मे [॥]

TRANSLATION.

Success! In the year 54 (?), in the fourth, 4, month of winter, on the tenth day,—on the (*lunar day specified*) as above, one (*statue of*) Sarasvatī, the gift of the smith Gova, son of Siha, (*made*) at the instance of the preacher (*vāchaka*) Aryya-Deva, the

⁶² These inscriptions, Nos. xix—xxii, were discovered by Dr. Burgess on first commencing the excavation at Kanākālī Tila. No. xix is from the base of a large seated Jina, 4 feet 4 inches by 3 feet 2 inches, found on the south-east of Kanākālī Tila, February 1888. I do not reprint the notes given in the *Wiener Zeitschrift*. The notes now given contain additional corrections.

⁶³ The former transcript gave, by a *lapsus calami*, *Kanishkasya*, though the lingual *na* is very distinct.

⁶⁴ On the base of a seated Jina, 3 feet 6 inches by 2 feet 2 inches, found near the same place. The second line is lost.

⁶⁵ On the base of a seated image of Sarasvatī, 1 foot 10 inches by 1 foot 3½ inches, found near the first temple on the south-east of the mound.

⁶⁶ The former transcript gave the first figure as 80. On comparing the date of Mr. Growse's No. 5, which is given in words and figures, I think it more probable that the sign is intended for 50.

⁶⁷ Formerly read *Śrīgūh[ā]to*; but see above, p. 372.

Formerly read *śraddhacharī*. ———

śraddhacharo of the *ganin* Aryya-Māghahasti, the pupil of the preacher Aryya-Hastahasti, from the Koṭṭiya *gana*, the Sthāniya *kula*, the Vairā śākhā and the Śrīgrīha *sambhoga*,—has been set up for the welfare of all beings. In the *avatala* my stage dancer(?).

No. XXII.⁶⁹

- L. 1. [f]सङ्गं सं ८० ५ (?) यि २ दि १० ८ कोट्टि[य]ातो गणातो ठानियातो कुलातो वडर[ा]तो
शा]खातो अर्थ अरह — — —
2. शिशिनि धाम[था]ये निर्वर्तन[ि]⁷⁰ ग्रहदतस्य धि[तु] धनहथि⁷¹ — — —

TRANSLATION.

Success! In the year 95 (?), in the second (*month of*) summer, on the 18th day,—at the request of Dhāmāthā (?), the female pupil of Aryya-Araha[dinna] from the Koṭṭiya *gana*, from the Thāniya *kula*, from the Vairā śākhā [the gift] of . . . the daughter of Grahadata, the wife of Dhanahathi (*Dhanahastin*) . . .

No. XXIII.⁷²

वारणातो गणातो अर्थकनियसिकातो कुलातो ओद — — —

TRANSLATION.

From the Vārana *gana*, from the worshipful Kaniyasika *kula*, [from the] Od ... (*śākhā*) . . .

No. XXIV.⁷³

- L. 1. [सिध]⁷⁴ महारजस्य वासुदेवस्य सं ८० हण⁷⁵ व १ दि १२ एतस पूर्वायां — — — — —
2. धितु संघनधि[स्य] वधुये बलस्य — — — — —

TRANSLATION.

[Hail!] In the year 80 of Mahārāja Vāsudeva, in the first month of the rainy season, on the twelfth day,—on that (*date specified as*) above, the daughter of the daughter-in-law of Saṃghanadhi (?), the of Bala,.....

No. XXV.⁷⁶

— — — — षमासे १ दीवसे ३० अस्मि क्षु — — — —⁷⁷

⁶⁹ On the upper part of a sculptured panel, 1 foot 10 inches by 1 foot 8 inches; the panel has carved on it a stūpa and four worshippers, one being a Nāga. From the south-east part of the mound.

⁷⁰ The third letter is doubtful.

⁷¹ Possibly धनहति.

⁷² Discovered by Dr. Führer on January 20th, 1889, incised on a broken panel 1 foot 2 inches by 1 foot 5 inches.

⁷³ On the base of a seated Jina (head lost), 4 feet 4 inches by 3 feet 3 inches, found in the north-east of the mound near the first temple.

⁷⁴ I do not feel certain whether this seeming letter is not some kind of ornament. If it is a letter, it is probably a monogram for सिद्ध.

⁷⁵ This might be read हण, but the lower stroke seems to belong to the letter धि in line 2, and in No. IX we have हण before वृक्ष.

⁷⁶ Incised on the middle portion of the base of a statue, 10 inches by 12 inches, found near the first temple.

⁷⁷ Restore षमासे and क्षुचे.